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KU KLUX KLAN.

Let us Protect the People in the Enjoyment of Life, Liberty, and
Property, and Impartial Suffrage in Peace.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOB E. STEVENSON,

OF OHIO,

DELIVERED

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

APRIL 4, 1871.

WASHINGTON:
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1871

KU KLUX KLAN.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 320) to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes—

Mr. STEVENSON said:

Mr. SPEAKER: Legislative assemblies ascertain the facts upon which they base their proceedings from four sources of evidence.

The most important is "common fame," "the general voice" of the people. Upon knowledge derived from this source general laws are usually enacted. The fact of the existence of the Ku Klux Klan is attested by the "general voice" of the people of the South in hourly utterance, by every channel of intelligence—by the press, by mail, by telegraph, by social intercourse.

The second source of information is the statements and knowledge of members. Is there any member in this House on either side who does not know of his own knowledge or upon statements of his fellow-members that there be Ku Klux in many parts of the southern States? After careful inquiry I have been unable to find any such member, and every gentleman who has addressed the House has averred or expressly or tacitly admitted the fact.

The third source is official documents—messages and proclamations of the President, and reports of executive officers to Congress; and these are on our desks in piles, attesting the existence, character, purposes, and operations of the Klan.

The fourth source of evidence, least used by legislative assemblies though most certain in its results, is the testimony of witnesses summoned according to law and examined and cross-examined under oath. We have tomes of such testimony, containing thousands of pages of the sworn evidence of witnesses who prove the widespread existence and the lawless doings of the Ku Klux Klan. Let us look into these volumes of official documents and sworn evidence.

GEORGE H. THOMAS.

Here is the testimony of one whose word will weigh with that of any man since Washington, George H. Thomas, who appeared before the House Committee on Reconstruction on the 29th day of January, 1866:

I do not think it would be safe at this time to remove the national troops from Tennessee or withdraw martial law, or to restore the writ of *habeas corpus* to its full extent. * * *

Question. Have you any reason to believe that there may be another outbreak?

Answer. I have received communications from various persons in the South that there was an understanding among the rebels, and perhaps organizations formed or forming, for the purpose of gaining as many advantages for themselves as possible; and I have heard it also intimated that these men are very anxious and would do all in their power to involve the United States in a foreign war, so that, if a favorable opportunity should offer, they might turn against the Government of the United States again. I do not think they will ever again attempt an outbreak on their own account, because they all admit that they had a fair trial in the late rebellion and got thoroughly worsted. There is no doubt but what there is a universal disposition among the rebels in the South to embarrass the Government in its administration, if they can, so as to gain as many advantages for themselves as possible.

Question. In what could those advantages consist, in breaking up the Government?

Answer. They wish to be recognized as citizens of the United States, with the same rights that they had before the war.

Question. How can they do that—by involving us in a war with England or France, in which they would take part against us?

Answer. In that event their desire is to reestablish the southern confederacy. They have not yet given up their desire for a separate government, and if they have an opportunity to strike for it again they will do so.

Question. Does the intelligence in regard to these organizations reach you from such authentic sources as to command your belief of their existence?

Answer. Yes, sir; it comes from very reliable men.

And he came again on the 2d day of February, 1866, and said:

Question. Do you know anything, from information or report, of secret organizations in the South said to be hostile to the Government of the United States?

Wm. C.

Answer. I have received several communications to that effect; but the persons who have given me this information have desired that their names should not be mentioned, and as yet no direct accusations have been made in regard to any one person or any class of persons. There have been steps taken to ascertain the truth of the matter. The persons communicating with me are reliable and truthful, and I believe their statements are correct in the main. But how far this disaffection extends I am not as yet able to say. It does exist to a certain extent, and I am taking measures to obtain as much information on the subject as I can.

Question. To what States does this information relate?

Answer. It relates to all the States lately in rebellion. I think there is no real danger to be apprehended, because the military authority and power of the Government is not only feared in those States, but I think it is ample to put down any serious demonstration.

Question. Is this information from different sources, each entirely independent of the other?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. So far as you are informed, what are the nature and objects of this organization?

Answer. To embarrass the Government of the United States in the proper administration of the affairs of the country, by endeavoring or making strong efforts to gain very important concessions to the people of the South; if possible, to repudiate the national debt incurred in consequence of the rebellion, or to gain such an ascendancy in Congress as to make provision for the assumption by Congress of the debt incurred by the rebel government; also, in case the United States Government can be involved in a foreign war, to watch their opportunity and take advantage of the first that occurs to strike for the independence of the States lately in rebellion.

There is the testimony of George H. Thomas, in the winter of 1866, showing that the chaotic rebel elements were then forming into disloyal societies in all the States lately in rebellion. How did it happen that so soon after they were conquered they dared again conspire? It was during the winter of 1866 that the man highest in power was giving them encouragement. Andrew Johnson, whom we had honored with the second position in the Government, having obtained the first by the hand of an assassin, was turning his back on the loyal people and the cause for which they fought and reviving hopes of discomfited traitors. February 22, 1866, he made the speech in which he declared war upon the Republican party and the representatives of the people and denounced our foremost men. It will be an interesting inquiry for history how far this recreant President and the rebel leaders then understood each other.

GENERAL THOMAS'S OFFICIAL REPORT.

In his official report for the year 1868 General Thomas again refers to the subject, and says:

"With the close of the last and beginning of the new year the State of Tennessee was disturbed by the strange operations of a mysterious organization known as the Ku Klux Klan, which first made its appearance in Giles county. Within a few weeks it had spread over a great part of the State and created no little alarm. Accounts of it from many sources were received at these headquarters; the newspapers recognized its existence by publishing articles on the subject, either denunciatory or with an attempt to treat its proceedings as harmless jokes, according to the political opinions of their

editors. The assistant commissioner of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands for Tennessee, in his reports, copies of which were furnished me, narrated many of the proceedings of the organization, whose acts were shown to be of a lawless and diabolical nature. Organized companies of men, mounted and armed, horses and riders being disguised, patrolled the country, making demonstrations calculated to frighten quiet citizens, and in many instances abused and outraged them, especially that class of colored people who, by their energy, industry, and good conduct, are most prominent.

That portion of the press of the State whose greatest labors are to bring odium upon all who aided to save the Government from being destroyed by the late rebellion hastened to deny the truth of the statements made to me, reflected with severity upon their authors, and to fortify their assertions procured and published the certificates of a few amiable persons of northern birth who were living in Nashville under the protection of a well-organized police force that the alarm was a false one. But this only caused to be added further evidence confirming the truth of the original statements. From this time forth I was in receipt of stories of oppression and outrage committed by these midnight prowlers. It was evident that the old spirit of proscription was far from having died out; it had remained a latent fire ready to burst forth with violence upon the least occasion.

The metropolitan police of Memphis arrested the members of one of the dens at their meeting, seized some papers containing what purported to be the oaths and obligations of the members of the society, which being published caused considerable excitement, as by these papers one of the objects of the society appeared to be the assassination of all who interfered with their plans.

An explanation of or excuse for the formation of the Ku Klux organization, made by its defenders, was that it was the natural result of the existence of the "Loyal Leagues," secret organizations of Union men. It is reasonable to suppose this may be correct; but in justice to the latter, however impolitic or unwise their acts may be, there has been reported to me no one instance of any outrage or unlawful act having been committed by them. Well-authenticated information leads me to believe that the Ku Klux Klan was primarily but a species of organization without settled plans; but the peculiar condition of Tennessee, the inability, unwillingness, and apathy of the local authorities, combined to demonstrate that if organized thoroughly, upon a semi-military basis, the society could maintain itself, extend its power, and perform whatever it sought to do without let or hindrance, its great purpose being to establish a nucleus around which the adherents of the late rebellion, active or passive, might safely rally, thus establishing a grand political society, the future operations of which would be governed by circumstances fast developing in the then peculiar era of exciting public events. It is a matter of history now, acknowledged by its leaders and the public press, that the society did extend itself throughout the South, and its operations in the unreconstructed States were of such a nature as to require the direct interference of the United States authorities to suppress them. I have deemed it to be my duty to watch closely these organized oppositions to the Government, not from fear of their success, but to enable the Government to counteract them.

Reviewing occurrences connected with the administration of affairs in the department for the past year, I am enabled to report that, to some extent, the presence of troops has prevented personal collisions and partisan difficulties; but only partially so, for it is mortifying to acknowledge that the State and local laws which should do so, and the more powerful force of public opinion, do not protect the citizens of the department from violence; in fact, crime is committed because public opinion favors it, or, at least, acquiesces in it. The local laws are enforced or not, according to the controlling opin-

ions of the community: a criminal who is popular with the mob can set law at defiance, but if a man is only charged with or suspected of crime, if he is inimical to the community, he is likely to be hanged to the nearest tree, or shot down at his own door.

The causes of this lawlessness are different in the different States, and apply more particularly to Kentucky and Tennessee. In Tennessee, where a majority of the late rebels are disfranchised, they, and sympathizers with them, have a hatred for the State authorities which is unconcealed and aggressive. In localities where the disfranchised element is strong, a spirit of persecution toward those in sympathy with the authorities, those who recognize the political rights of the enfranchised negroes, and the negroes themselves, especially shows itself in utter contempt of all respect for law. Violence is openly talked of. The editorials of the public press are such as to create the most intense hatred in the breasts of ex-rebels and their sympathizers. The effect of this is to cause disturbance throughout the State, by inciting the ruffianly portion of this class of citizens to murder, rob, and maltreat white Unionists and colored people, in localities where there are no United States troops stationed. The local authorities often have not the will, and more often have not the power, to suppress or prevent these outrages.

In Kentucky disfranchisement cannot be alleged as a reason for the disturbance; here the mass of the people are in sympathy with the State authorities, and those politically opposed make no attempt to resist them. The colored people are quiet and peaceable; they have no political rights, not being enfranchised, yet ruffians are permitted to tyrannize over them, without fear of punishment. The testimony of negroes is refused in the State courts, and the United States courts are difficult of access to an ignorant people, without friends or influence. In some districts ex-Union soldiers are persecuted by their more numerous rebel neighbors, until they are forced into a resistance which sometimes ends with the loss of their lives, or they are compelled in self-defense to emigrate. An appeal to the courts affords but little hope for redress, as magistrates and juries too often decide in accordance with their prejudices, without regard to justice. The controlling cause of the unsettled condition of affairs in the department is that the greatest efforts made by the defeated insurgents since the close of the war have been to promulgate the idea that the cause of liberty, justice, humanity, equality, and all the calendar of the virtues of freedom suffered violence and wrong when the effort for southern independence failed. This is, of course, intended as a species of political cant, whereby the crime of treason might be covered with a counterfeit varnish of patriotism, so that the precipitators of the rebellion might go down in history hand in hand with the defenders of the Government, thus wiping out with their own hands their own stains, a species of self-forgiveness amazing in its effrontery, when it is considered that life and property—justly forfeited by the laws of the country, of war, and of nations, through the magnanimity of the Government and people—were not exacted from them.

Under this inspiration, the education of the great body of the people, moral, religious, and political, has been turned into channels wherein all might unite in common. The impoverishment of the South, resulting from war and its concomitants, the emancipation of slaves, and the consequent loss of substance, the ambiguity and uncertainty of political rights and financial values, as well as personal rivalries, have all combined to strengthen the efforts of pernicious teachers. The evil done has been great, and it is not discernible that an immediate improvement may be expected.

I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEO. H. THOMAS,
Major General U. S. A., Commanding.
ADJUTANT GENERAL U. S. ARMY,
Washington City, D. C.

Could evidence be more explicit and conclusive? It proves the existence of a secret, oath-bound, military, political organization, composed of rebels, extending through all the late rebel States, and acting in the interest of the Democratic party against the Republican party by intimidation and violence. General Thomas goes to the bottom of the thing when he says:

"The controlling cause is that the greatest efforts made by the defeated insurgents since the close of the war have been to promulgate the idea that the cause of liberty, justice, humanity, equality, and all the calendar of the virtues of freedom suffered violence and wrong when the effort for southern independence failed."

"Under this inspiration, the education of the great body of the people, moral, religious, and political, has been turned into channels wherein all might unite in common."

This sentiment of regret for "the lost cause" begets a desire to renew the contest in opposition to reconstruction, and hence the Ku Klux.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Andrew Johnson expressed the opinion of the Klan itself in his last annual message, December 9, 1868, when he said:

"The attempt to place the white population under the domination of persons of color in the South has impaired, if not destroyed, the kindly relations that had previously existed between them; and mutual distrust has engendered a feeling of animosity which, leading in some instances to collision and bloodshed, has prevented that cooperation between the two races so essential to the success of industrial enterprises in the southern States. Nor have the inhabitants of those States alone suffered from the disturbed condition of affairs growing out of these congressional enactments. The entire Union has been agitated by grave apprehensions of troubles which might again involve the peace of the nation; its interests have been injuriously affected by the derangement of business and labor and the consequent want of prosperity throughout that portion of the country."

Here we have not only his doctrine, but his confession that "the entire Union had been agitated by grave apprehensions of troubles which might again involve the peace of the nation."

The Legislatures and Governors of several States called on President Johnson for troops to suppress insurrection, and he was compelled to comply, and gave orders accordingly; so that we have not only his confession, but his official acts. The importance of this evidence can hardly be overestimated, for no man was better advised of the character and extent of the disorder than Mr. Johnson. He was in accord with the southern Democracy, and well informed of their plans, purposes, and actions, of which the doings of this organization were part.

GENERAL FORREST.

General N. B. Forrest made a statement to a correspondent of the Cincinnati Commercial, at Memphis, August 28, 1868, which is pre-

served with General Thomas's report for that year. General Forrest says:

THE KU KLUX KLAN.

Why, general, we people up North have regarded the Ku Klux as an organization which existed only in the frightened imaginations of a few politicians. Well, sir, there is such an organization, not only in Tennessee, but all over the South, and its numbers have not been exaggerated.

What are its numbers, general?

In Tennessee there are over forty thousand; in all the southern States they number about five hundred and fifty thousand men.

What is the character of the organization, may I inquire?

Yes, sir. It is a protective political military organization. I am willing to show any man the constitution of the society. The members are sworn to recognize the Government of the United States. It does not say anything at all about the government of Tennessee. Its objects originally were protection against Loyal Leagues and the Grand Army of the Republic; but after it became general it was found that political matters and interests could best be promoted within it, and it was then made a political organization, giving its support, of course, to the Democratic party.

But is the organization connected throughout the State?

Yes, it is. In each voting precinct there is a captain, who, in addition to his other duties, is required to make out a list of names of men in his precinct, giving all the Radicals and all the Democrats who are positively known; and showing also the doubtful on both sides and of both colors. This list of names is forwarded to the grand commander of the State, who is thus enabled to know who are our friends and who are not.

Can you or are you at liberty to give me the name of the commanding officer of this State?

No; it would be impolitic.

September 8, 1868, he wrote a letter to the correspondent, in which he qualifies parts of the report but does not deny the correctness of the above, and says:

"I said it was reported, and I believe the report that there are forty thousand Ku Klux in Tennessee, and believe the organization stronger in other States."

COURIER-JOURNAL.

The Louisville Courier-Journal of a recent date declared that—

The Ku Klux Klan was organized by some of the best southern men, leaders in the rebellion, and extended from the Potomac to the Rio Grande.

Thus we have the testimony of George H. Thomas, than whom no better man drew sword for the Union; the testimony of N. B. Forrest, than whom no braver man fought in the rebellion; the testimony of the Louisville Courier-Journal, the best and ablest Democratic paper in the South; and the confessions of Andrew Johnson by word and act.

GENERAL HOWARD.

General Howard, in his report for 1868, describes the condition of the southern States as affected by the Ku Klux Klan. Some gentlemen on the other side may affect to discredit his evidence, but the world knows General Howard as a brave soldier and a pure philanthropist who has done a grand work of human-

ity and enlightenment. He has been indicted by Tammany and acquitted by the country. What if a Tammany chief had been appointed instead of General Howard? The accounts might have been more carefully kept, but what would have become of the money? He reports:

"With all that is thrilling in the history of the freedmen's education, and encouraging in their progress throughout every district during the period now reported, we are still compelled to say that embarrassments from the revived rebel spirit of the South, as seen in the facts stated, have thickened about our schools.

"The following from a recent communication expresses undoubtedly the truth:

"Never was the spirit of opposition more bitter and defiant than at the present time. The civil authorities, being in sympathy with this feeling, wink at all outrages; and the military, located at a few points, are often entirely unable to reach the perpetrators of wrongs. The truth is, we are in the midst of a reign of terror."

VIRGINIA.

"The secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan have made their appearance in various localities, visiting the houses of colored men at night, in some cases placing ropes around their necks and threatening to hang them on account of their political opinions." * * * "The object of these midnight demonstrations" * * * "appears to be to intimidate and control the freedmen in the exercise of their right of suffrage."

They have not been so active in Virginia as elsewhere, because Democracy controls the State. The Ku Klux are not wanton marauders: there is method in their murder. They do not use extreme measures when milder will suffice. There is a surplus of labor in Virginia; land-owners can control freedmen by making employment depend on their votes, and this advantage, united with intimidation and occasional violence, enables the Democratic party to maintain its ascendancy.

KENTUCKY.

"In 1867 the number of outrages committed by whites against freed people, and officially reported by subordinate officers since October 30, 1866, is as follows, namely: murders, twenty; shooting, eighteen; rape, eleven; otherwise maltreated, two hundred and seventy; total, three hundred and nineteen."

"In 1868, to October 14, the outrages perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan have caused a great exodus into other States." * * *

"The number of outrages reported as committed by whites upon colored people in the State of Kentucky during the year is: murders, twenty-six; rapes, three; shootings, thirty; otherwise maltreated, two hundred and sixty-five; total, three hundred and twenty-seven."

Six hundred and forty-six outrages in two years.

The most unjustifiable and dangerous speech I have heard in this debate was made by the gentleman from the Ashland district, the successor of Henry Clay, Thomas F. Marshall, and John C. Breckinridge. That gentleman charges that there is no ground in fact for our proposed action against the Ku Klux Klan,

but that the excitement is a false alarm raised to cover tariff intrigues and corruption. There is no member of this House more firmly resolved upon action on the pending question than myself, yet the gentleman from Kentucky and I will not disagree greatly on the tariff unless he asks more protection for hemp than I can concede.

We do not disagree about the "Black-Chorpenning" fraud, but I wish he would agree with me in opposing the McGarahan claim. I agree with him in condemning the Indian frauds, and regret that he, having had charge of the subject, has not pressed it for action. I agree with him in opposing land grants, and regret that he does not always vote as he speaks on that subject. The gentleman cannot escape the issue by such diversions. Let him face the facts in his own State. I have already shown six hundred and forty-six ascertained outrages. The Frankfort Commonwealth of March 31, 1871, sets forth in detail, with place and date, one hundred and fifteen; ninety of them since October 14, 1868, the date of General Howard's report. This makes seven hundred and thirty-nine. The editor adds that shortly after February 13, 1871—

"Jacob Lichter was hung by Ku Klux in Shelby (February 16); a masked band rescued Scroggins from jail in Frankfort (February 24); and a band attacked Ballou's store, in Franklin county; and Rucker was killed, (March 11.)"

General P. St. George Cooke, in his report for 1869, says:

"Out of the cities and off from the great lines of travel and commerce, in the interior of Kentucky and Tennessee, negro and white Unionists enjoy little protection of law to person or property, and the freedom of the negroes is a mockery.

"While I write the public prints record a Ku Klux action—submitted to, of course—in which, breaking into houses, they murdered one and maimed another white man; 'scourged most unmercifully a white man and several negroes.'"

Here is an item touching the gentleman's own district and affecting his constituents:

MOUNT VERNON, KENTUCKY.

September 21, 1868.

DEAR GENERAL: We need some military aid in this section of country for the following reasons, to wit: there is a band of Ku Klux in the vicinity of Crab Orchard, Kentucky, that are continually committing depredations in this part of the country. About two months ago they went to James Baker's, in Pulaski county, and murdered him by shooting him; some five shots took effect. On last Saturday night they went to the house of one Stephen Cummins, of Pulaski county, and killed him and his daughter, and wounded his son; his son escaped by running off in the dark. They shot his daughter for lamenting over her dead father; he, Cummins, killed two of them—one on the ground, and one died at Crab Orchard. They remarked before they left that there was one more d—d abolitionist out of the way. It is Union men that they are operating upon entirely. So, general, if there is not military interference, we will soon be in a very bad fix. The main nest is about Crab Orchard. We think it would be a good idea to station some troops at Crab Orchard, as we think it is one of the worst rebel holes in Kentucky. Union men are becoming alarmed, and will have to band themselves together for their pro-

tection if there is not something done. General, we are satisfied that we need protection, or we would not call for it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

WM. CARSON,
Judge Rockcastle County Court.

A. J. MOORE,
County Attorney.

R. D. COOK,
Clerk Rockcastle County Court.

B. K. BETHURUM,
Sheriff Rockcastle County.

The Kentucky contributor of the Cincinnati Gazette, a constituent of the gentleman, well known to him as a man whose character for intelligence and integrity is equal to that of any other citizen of Kentucky, says in his article of March 31, 1871:

"Outrages of this sort committed by these men have been reported from the following counties: Carter, Montgomery, Clarke, Fayette, Woodford, Anderson, Franklin, Shelby, Henry, Marion, Washington, Mercer, Boyle, Lincoln, Pulaski, Garrard, Madison, Rockcastle, Bourbon, Scott, and Harrison. Here are twenty-one counties, in the center of the State, as it were, in every one of which foul murders have been committed by the Ku Klux, and in some of them as high as ten or twelve murdered men can be counted. All this, and a great deal more, occurred during the administration of Governor STEVENSON. From the cutting down of the flagstaff over the grave of General Nelson; from the murder of Major Bierbower in Stanford, to the killing of the negroes in Franklin, right under the nose of the Governor, these things have been going on. Is an organization which spreads over twenty-one counties, containing near three hundred thousand inhabitants, and so intimidating or in other ways annulling the action of the State civil authorities, as to prevent their molesting them; an organization which has stained every county with the blood of their victims, and which is guilty of the death of more than one hundred men, a small affair? These are facts, are sober realities, are unexaggerated truths. That this organization exists in all the portion of the State we have named, their deeds attest. The State cannot or will not deal with these men. The organization is so powerful that officers of the law have respected their mandates and obeyed their behests. Nay, it is charged and believed that in some counties some of the officers of the law are members of the organization, made officers of the law because of their political influence.

"Columns after columns of the newspapers for four years past have been filled with the doings of these men. Two thirds of the startling things that have drawn and fixed the attention of the people in that time have been Ku Klux murders. The pulpit have denounced these men. Lawyers pleading for the life of their clients have denounced them. So distinguished a Democrat as John C. Breckinridge has, in a public speech, denounced them." * * * "Two or three times when the doings of them became too notorious, and were, in a manner, free from disguise, a grand jury has indicted them, but no one has ever been tried in a State court, much less punished. Grand juries stand in awe of them, witnesses tell the foremen of juries that they will go to jail before they will testify against them." * * * "Were all the Ku Klux arrested and brought to trial, among them would be found sheriffs, magistrates, jurors, and legislators, and it may be clerks and judges. In some counties it would be found that the Ku Klux and their friends comprise more than half of the influential and voting population."

Twenty counties, the garden of Kentucky—and nothing shall prevent me from saying that the garden of Kentucky is the garden of the world—have been swept by these lawless bands for years.

We have no report since March 11, 1871, nor any assurance of improvement. Governor Stevenson repeatedly asked the Legislature for extraordinary powers to quell disorder. They seem to have considered the Governor too pacific. During the session of the Legislature a lawless band entered the State capital, broke the prison, and rescued a prisoner and carried him off in triumph. It is not probable that under such circumstances violence has abated. And I doubt not that if we had a complete statement of outrages from 1867 to this hour the sum total would be numbered by thousands.

THE RIGHT TO TESTIFY.

The worst feature of affairs in Kentucky is the denial of the right to testify in courts to persons of color in cases against white men. So far as I know, this is the only civilized part of the world, the only community, civilized, semi-civilized, or barbarian, where free citizens are denied the right to testify in courts of justice. Consider the consequences. Imagine a colored congregation assembled in their church, no white person present, as is frequently the case, the minister in the pulpit offering at the Throne of Grace prayer for his people and their white neighbors. Ku Klux enter the church, drag the minister from the sacred desk, and slay him on the altar, and then throw off their shrouds and masks, displaying forms and faces familiar to every eye, avow the act, defy the "cloud of witnesses," and say, "Behold, we are white!" Could mortal man defend all this the gentleman would have done so; but he did not try. His constituents do not expect impossibilities, even of him.

TENNESSEE.

General Howard says:

"At the close of the year 1867 the organization of the secret society known as the Ku Klux Klan took place." * * * "The number of outrages perpetrated by this band, or by desperadoes apparently belonging to it, has been very great. The intimidation of the colored people seemed to be its object, to effect which colored men are frequently taken from their beds at night and flogged unmercifully, and occasionally killed." * * * "During the year ending July 1, 1868, one hundred and seventy-nine homicides were committed."

Other outrages are not given, but generally there are ten for every murder. This record stops July 1, as if in despair. The Ku Klux were worst from that time to the presidential election, in November, and it is probable that a full statement of murders and other outrages for 1868 would exceed two thousand. We have testimony in Tennessee cases; that in Sheafe against Tillman is most important. It shows the organization, the oath, prescript, principles, and proceedings of the Ku Klux Klan, and proves it to be a political, military organization within the Democratic party, warring on Republicans.

Colonel William B. Holden, of the rebel

army, says he saw them in 1867, in Marshall county, and the vote of that county changed from Republican to Democratic "simultaneously with their appearance."

E. P. Cooper (Democrat) saw them frequently early in 1868.

Charles S. Wilson, of Fayetteville, (Democrat,) saw them often from two to two hundred and eighty-five together.

Other Democrats testify to seeing them in various parts, and to acts of intimidation and violence, scourging, shooting, hanging. They visited Democratic families, playing pranks for their amusement, and keeping their "servants" under discipline. One such case is worthy of record. S. W. Rainey (Democrat) testifies:

Question. Have you ever seen or heard the whistles or movements of what are known or called the Ku Klux?

Answer. I saw some three men some two different times in disguise. They came to my house this last year. They had a whistle; I heard them blow it several times.

Question. Do you know of any negroes being whipped, or in any way punished, by the Ku Klux preceding the election of last November?

Answer. Yes, sir; one, a negro woman at my house. The men in disguise—don't know who they were—took her out, at the request of my wife, and gave her, my son said, sixty-five lashes with a leather strap, and it done her good; I thanked them for it. They done it at the request of my wife. They told my wife that they would do that much for her. My two boys say they didn't hurt her; the strap wouldn't hurt like a switch. They told her if she didn't do better, and would ever come to them, they would repeat the dose. They took a gun from my negro man and broke it up the same night.

They visited Radicals in another style. Scores of Republicans, black and white, testify to visitations. They generally came at midnight, on horseback, in shroud and mask, armed with rifle and revolver, and a long leathern thong to scourge their victims. Sometimes they bore a flesh-colored banner in the form of a heart, which they showed their captives to heighten their horror. These two cases show how they dealt with Republican families:

Alexander H. Gustin was next called, and after having been duly sworn, deposes as follows:

Question. Mr. Gustin, be pleased to state your age, residence, and occupation.

Answer. I am fifty-three years old next August; reside in Franklin county; occupation, farmer.

Question. State what are your politics, and state whether or not you were ever treated badly by any disguised men; if so, tell all about it; when and where it occurred.

Answer. I am a Republican. I have been treated badly by disguised men; on the 2d of last November, on Monday night, they came to my house about eleven o'clock, and threatened to break my door open, and I told them the first man who broke my door open I would shoot him; I think there were about thirty or forty of them; there might not have been so many; when I said that, they all jumped off and fired fifty or sixty pistols, and threatened to set the house on fire; I told my brother I thought it was pretty hot work, and we had best get out of the house and go down in the woods; they would not hurt the women; when we ran down there they hollered, "Shoot the damned Radicals!" "Shoot the damned Radicals!" They came in the house, stole a rifle I had there, and insulted my wife the worst kind, she sick in bed; they

burst the doors all in, smashed my window-frames, and broke all the window-panes except three; there were twelve in and they broke nine; the lower window-sash, frame and all, was broken out; my wife and child were sick, and they insulted my wife by poking out their tongues at her, and leaning over the bed.

Question. How long did you and your brother remain down in the woods, and did you lie out on any other occasion in consequence of fear of them?

Answer. We remained, I judge, about one hour; we laid out there two or three nights in consequence of fear of them after that; Dr. Grant sent word to my brother by little Joe Bryant that they, the disguised men, were coming on Wednesday night, the day after the election, to murder us; my wife was scared so I had to send for Dr. Grant; he sat up with her one night; Dr. Grant said she came very near having congestion of the brain.

James Moseley, colored, was next called, and after being duly sworn, deposed as follows:

Question. James, tell how old you are; what you follow for a living; and what county you live in.

Answer. I think I'm about sixty-five years; follow farming; in Franklin county, on Mr. Gustine's place.

Question. Did you ever see any of these disguised men, commonly called Ku Klux; if so, when, where, and how often did you ever see them, and how many were generally together; and tell all about what they said and did.

Answer. Well, I "seed" 'em, I reckon; the night before the election they come to my house and called to me to open the door; before I could get up and open the door they burst it open; went to the bedside where my daughter was; she hollered for me; called me "pap," and when I answered the man found out where I was, and run right to me in my bed and caught hold of me, and another one behind him caught me by the collar; he asked me where was that pistol? I told him I had none. Then he asked me where was that gun? I told him it was at Mr. Gustine's. Then he whirled right around and says, "That's the very gun he threatened to shoot us with." Then he calls me out of the house and tells me to vote for my friends; but I said nothing, but just thought that he wasn't my friend. The man that caught me by the collar tore it down to the waistband of my drawers.

Question. Were you and your family much alarmed, and how many in family have you; have you ever got your gun since, or pay for it?

Answer. Yes, sir, we were much alarmed; had in the house six of my family at that time.

They compelled colored men not to vote the Republican ticket, and others to vote the Democratic ticket against their will, the freedmen almost unanimously desiring to vote for Grant, considering him one of their liberators. They frightened the negroes by ghastly stories such as this. Daniel Norris, after relating many instances of scourging and other outrage, says:

He saw them once when they were looking for something they had lost, and one of them said he was killed at Manassas fight, which he said was six years ago; he was buried, and since then they had built a pike over his grave and he had to scratch like hell to get up through the gravel. He also wanted some water, as he had not had any since the Manassas fight.

Question. You say that you have not seen any Ku Klux in about three months. What has become of them; are you afraid they will come back again?

Answer. I do not know what has become of them; I am sorter afraid they might come back again.

They would ask for a bucket of water, and emptying it into a sack at the throat call for another, swearing that they "had not had a

drink since they fell at Shiloh, and had been in hell ever since;" or one would take off a false head and ask a negro to hold it for him while he fixed his cork leg. They published in Democratic newspapers such notices as these:

NASHVILLE, March 18, 1868.

The death degree members of the K. K. K. are hereby ordered to meet at their den for certain business.

G. G. C.
N. O. B.

Approved by the Klan.

[Special Order No. 1.]

ELROD'S SEPULCHER, BLOODY GRAVES,
DARK MOON, TIME'S UP.

SHROUDED BROTHERS OF SHILOH DIVISION,
DIVISION No. 89.

The Great Past Grand commands you. Awful times! Trying hours!! Bloody scenes!!! Perish the oppressors and the guilty. Mark well. A silent tongue! A steady hand!! A true heart!!! Note well our friends; our enemies you know. The hissing bullet—the halter—and all's right. Be cautious! Be vigilant!! Be unsparing!!!

By order of Great Grand Cyclops.

L. O. B.—

Huron G. S.

[General Orders No. 1.]

K. K. K.

WOLF HOLE, BLOODY MONTH,
FAIR MOON, FIRST HOUR.

SHROUDED BROTHERS OF MEMPHIS DIVISION, No. 60.

In hoc signo. X 12.

The Great Past Grand commands you. The dark and dismal hour draws nigh. Some live to-day—to-morrow die.

The bullet red, and the rights are ours. To-day the 11th of the mortal's month of March you will begin to scatter the clouds of the grave. By order of Great Grand Cyclops,

G. C. T.

†K. †K. †K.†

WE HAVE COME! WE ARE HERE!!

BEWARE!!

TAKE HEED!!

[Circle.]

When the black cat is gliding under the shadows of darkness, and the death watch ticks at the lone hour of midnight, then we, the pale riders, are abroad!!

Speak in whispers and we hear you!! Dream as you sleep in the inmost recesses of your houses, and hovering over your beds we gather your sleeping thoughts, while our daggers are at your throats!!

Ravishers of the liberty of the people, for whom we died and yet live, begone ere it be too late!! Unholy blacks, cursed of God, take warning and fly!!

Twice hath the sacred serpent hissed. When again his voice is heard your doom is sealed. Beware! Take heed!

Given under our hand in the den of the sacred serpent on the mystical day of the bloody moon!!

B. K. N. & L. G. Q.
Grand Cyclops of the Ku Klux Klan
for the Tenth Division.

To be executed by the Grand White Death and the Rattling Skeleton.

— K. K. K. —

BLOODY MONTH, SKELETON HOLLOW†
DARK MOON, SILENT HOUR.

In Hoc Signum.

To the Veiled Brotherhood of Monticello Division
No. 15:

The Grand Cyclops never sleeps. His bony fingers have pointed to the "Bleeding Band," and (his) messengers will greet (you) at the twenty-fourth revolution of the "Spirit's Dial."

Mortals have threatened the Band. The "bloody hand" is raised to warn. Be cautious lest it fall.

The sword is unsheathed and red. Let tyrants tremble.

H. K. 6-0-7.

Sub R. T. and Bearer of the Diadem.

BLOODY DEN.

THIRD MOON, FOURTH WATCH, K. K. K.

Pale Face Shrouded Division XVI:

Be ready! The hour approaches. The cycle is nearly complete! The air smells of blood! Retribution draws nigh! Let cowards and renegades believe and tremble! To your dens, hyenas! Come forth, ghost of the Shiloh dead! Prepare and note the signal! The owls shall repeat them!

Let Bosworth field recur again, and sweep all Richards from the plain!

By order of the Great Grand Past Cyclops beyond the running water.

— K. K. K. —

NIMROD SEPULCHER,
LAST HOUR, SINKING MOON,
NINETY-THIRD DIVISION, S. S. S.

Perish the guilty! Shrouded brothers, their hour is near; their doom is sealed. When the torches flare in the east, when the death-lights gleam in the west, and the finger of the white skeleton points to the new-made grave, brothers, strike; spare none. Perish the guilty! S. 10; +; g. 4. 31. 3. quickly. The bloody hand is raised. Beware where it falls. *†† . 13; + +.

By order of the G. G. C.

CAYUGA, S.

Truth is mighty and will prevail—when the Republican party is extinct.

While freedmen tremble with fear, the Klans scour the country, disarming all who have guns or pistols, and then come scourgings.

John Thomas (colored) says:

Question. State whether or not you were molested or otherwise ill-treated on or about or before the election for President and members of Congress, on the 3d of November, 1868; if so, tell all about it, from the beginning to the end.

Answer. I was whipped one time; they gave me a certificate, ticket I mean, to vote; the Ku Klux whipped me. They told me if I did not vote the ticket that there would be bad times afterward. I took it and voted it; that is all; the ticket was for Seymour and Blair. It was against my sentiments to vote that way. I never voted that way before. It was before the election. I do not recollect positively when it was; my corn was only knee high at the time. I cannot tell how many licks they hit me; they whipped me so badly that I could not plow for two days.

Question. How many licks they struck you? State as near as you can the number.

Answer. People said that they hit me four hundred lashes.

Question. Do you think and believe that they hit you that many stripes?

Answer. No, sir; I do not know how many licks they did hit me. I knowed they hit me a heap; it

was the worst whipping that I ever had in my life; and I never did get much whipping before that.

Question. How long before the election that they gave you the ticket?

Answer. The night before.

Question. Have any other colored men been whipped or otherwise injured in that neighborhood; if so, how many?

Answer. There have been eight whipped in my neighborhood by the Ku Klux.

Question. Did any other colored men vote at the same time you voted; if so, did they too vote for Seymour and Blair, and for Captain Sheafe for Congress, against their will and sentiments?

Answer. The six that voted had always voted the Radical ticket. I do not know whether they voted their sentiments or not. I have not heard them say anything about it since.

Question. Had any of those six been whipped by the Ku Klux before the election?

Answer. They were all whipped before the election, and on the same night that I was.

Question. What did they whip you with?

Answer. A leather strap.

George McMichael, a colored man, testifies:

Question. Were you afterward ever molested or troubled for voting the Radical ticket; and if so, state when, and by whom, and in what way were you troubled?

Answer. I was; the Ku Klux came to my house; they took me out; they tied me down on a log; they so said among them, they hit me two hundred lashes. That was a month or so after the election.

Question. What did they whip you with, and what did they say they whipped you for?

Answer. They whipped me with a strip leather; they said I went to Manchester and voted the Radical ticket; they said they would take the damn Radical out of me.

Question. Did they whip you on your clothes, or did they strip and whip you?

Answer. They stripped me, and every lick on the skin; they turned my shirt up and my pantaloons down.

Question. You say they were Ku Klux; did they have on false faces, or did you know them?

Answer. No, sir; I did not know them; they had on false faces.

Cross-examination:

Question. How many of these men were there who treated you so badly, George?

Answer. There was six of them.

Question. Was it in the night or day time when they whipped you?

Answer. It was in the night, about ten o'clock; me and my family were all gone to bed.

Question. You say you did not know any of them; do you know which way they came or went?

Answer. I don't know which way they came; they went out down the hollow by McKie's, and up by Mr. Backner's mill, and intersect the public road going toward Buck Grove.

Question. Did they say they whipped you for anything else except that you had gone to Manchester and voted the Radical ticket, and that they intended to whip it out of you?

Answer. They did not say that they whipped me for anything else, only for voting the Radical ticket.

Question. Can you remember whether it was after or before New Year's when this took place?

Answer. I do not recollect; it was about that time they whipped old man Jack Singleton, and old man Dred Mason, and Charles Powers, and stated they were the club that went to Manchester to vote.

Question. Did the Ku Klux tell you that they had whipped the other boys you have mentioned, or did the boys themselves tell you?

Answer. The Ku Klux did not tell anything about them. I saw old man Jack Singleton and Charles Powers; they told me about it, and showed me the gashes.

PROTECTION PAPERS.

Colored men are often so alarmed as to accept protection papers from Democrats to satisfy the Ku Klux that they had voted the Democratic ticket. Here is one:

Presidential election, 1868.

STATE OF TENNESSEE,

County of Giles, Civil District No. 11:

This will certify that Andrew J. Marks, a free man of color, voted the Democratic ticket at the late presidential election, 1868.

M. F. MARKS,
W. J. BROWN.

This 3d November, 1868.

D. A. Welden says he saw several others. The practice was common. The colored men who held them said "they were a protection from the Ku Klux."

They required Republican officers to resign; broke jails to rescue their friends, or punish their opponents. They would not allow prosecutions. Alexander Jernigan says:

Question. Do you hold any office; and if so, what office, and how long have you held it?

Answer. Yes, sir; I am a justice of the peace, and was also appointed one of the commissioners to hold the county court. I have been a justice of the peace over four years, and was appointed county commissioner last April was a year ago.

Question. Have you or not been a Union man from the beginning of the rebellion?

Answer. Yes, sir; I have.

Question. Did you vote at the election in November last; and if so, what ticket did you vote?

Answer. Yes, sir; I voted a full Radical ticket.

Question. Were you ever beaten and maltreated for your political sentiments? If so, state when, where, and how?

Answer. I was tolerably badly treated, and I believe for my political sentiments. Well, sir, it was on Saturday night after the first Monday in January last; it was at my house. On the Saturday night before there came a parcel of disguised men to my house; I heard them a-coming. I stepped out to oneside, about twenty yards from the house. They went in the house and inquired for me, to know where I was. They told them that I was gone off in the barrens. They said that I needn't have gone off; they didn't intend to hurt me, or they would have brought more of their force with them. They stayed about a short time, and went off down the road the way they came; they didn't interfere with anything. Well, then, the next Saturday night they came back. I would suppose they left their horses down the road a piece from the house; I don't know how far. They slipped up and surrounded the house before I knew they were there. They commenced blowing their whistles, and ordered them to open the door. My wife, or some of them, opened the door; they came in; some of them drew their pistols and commenced talking to me. The first question was, if I didn't have men brought before the grand jury in order to catch them? I told them I didn't. The next question was, didn't I belong to the Union League? I told them that I had been in two or three times, about six or eight months ago. I told them I hadn't been in since, nor didn't expect to be in any more. The next word they said was, you can't deny being a damned Radical? I told them I didn't deny it; I told them I expected to be one as long as I believed it to be right. They gathered hold of me then, and said that I would have to go with them to headquarters. They took me over in Jim Lawrence's field; two of them held my hands, and another one whipped me; one of them fired off a pistol in the time. I don't know how many lashes they gave me; I didn't count.

Question. Did you, before or after this treatment, so dread and fear the Ku Klux that you lay out of nights to prevent being caught and abused or killed by them?

Answer. Well, sir, I did, afterward.

They are bitterly hostile to teachers because the illiterate freedmen look for instruction to the school-house. Therefore they warn away such citizens, and if the warning be disregarded they scourge or kill them. Here is a notice left with a teacher:

HIDDEN RECESS, UNTERRIFIED RETREAT,
KLAN OF VENGEANCE! ETERNITY! !

Villain, away!! Ere another moon wanes, unless thou art gone from the placid thy foul form desecrates, thy unhallowed soul will be reveling in the hell thy acts here hath made hot for thee! William, eat heartily, and make glad thy vile carcass, for, verily, the "Pale Riders" will help on thy digestion! You and your friends will sleep an unawakening sleep if you do! Dare you eat!!!
The sacred serpent has hissed the last time!!!
Beware!!! K. K. K.

Malinda Gregory (colored) says—

"That she has been teaching school until June 18, when the Ku Klux came and threatened her life if she did not quit teaching; that she, finding out that they really meant to execute their threat, left the country and came to Nashville."

John Dunlap says:

Question. Mr. Dunlap, state your age, residence, and occupation.

Answer. I am thirty-five years old; my residence is Shelbyville, Tennessee; my occupation is school-teaching.

Question. How long have you resided in Shelbyville, and where did you come from before settling in Shelbyville?

Answer. I have lived in Shelbyville nearly four years, and came from Oxford, Ohio, to Tennessee.

Question. Did you ever see any disguised men, commonly called Ku Klux? If so, state when, where, how many there were, and what they said and did.

Answer. I saw what I supposed to be fifty in number on the night of July 4, 1868. They came to my residence in Shelbyville, Tennessee, about ten o'clock at night; they and their horses were disguised. When I first saw them they were dismounting in front of my house, and yelled they wanted me, and started in a rush for my door. I shut the door against them and locked it. They then surrounded my house and shot at me twice through the window, and then broke open my door and surrounded me, telling me they would not kill me if I would give up my revolver and not shoot at them, as I held it in my hand presented at them. I accordingly surrendered, and they carried me out and mounted me behind one of their number, not giving me time to draw on my coat or put on my hat, but took me along without coat or hat. They then returned to the square, and on the way said they were from the battle-ground of Chickamauga, and said they rode hard all day to get here (Shelbyville) to take part in my celebration, (as my school had celebrated the day,) but could not reach here (Shelbyville) in time, so they concluded to have a celebration to-night, (the 4th of July, 1868.) From the square they went to Britton street, and broke into the house of a colored man by the name of James Franklin, dragged him from his house and mounted him behind one of their number, and then rode to the square, where they formed in a semicircle and blew their whistles, and gave three cheers for Andrew Johnson. They then rode across Duck river, where they dismounted Franklin and myself. They then had Franklin undress himself, and then blindfolded him, and they then whipped him with what I supposed to be a

leather thong, each one of their number striking him five strokes apiece, and then left him to return to his home. They ordered me to walk on with them about three hundred yards further, where they stripped me and whipped me the same as they did Franklin, cutting and bruising me in many places, and I carry the marks on my person at this time. While whipping me, one of their number told me I talked like a damned Yankee, and he intended to whip me like one. The captain told him not to insult me, but to get through whipping me. When through, they told me there were too many northern men down here, and they intended to serve them all as they had served me. The captain then ordered me to leave Shelbyville on the following Monday and go where I came from, or they would kill me if found in Shelbyville after that day, and that if I ever fell into the hands of the Klan again they would have no mercy, and I need not expect it. I did not leave as ordered, and on the 9th the postmaster handed me an unstamped letter, with my name written in red ink. On opening the letter, I found it to be from the Ku Klux Klan and dated at one of their dens. The letter itself was written with red ink, and warned me to leave by the 15th of the present month (July) or they would take me out and burn me to death. I accordingly went to Nashville, Tennessee, where I remained nearly two months, when I again returned and resumed my school. I forgot to state in the beginning, as I should have done, that the Klan carried a flesh flag in the shape of a heart, and asked me how I liked it, and said it meant Ku Klux. I was not disturbed again until the first Saturday night in January, 1869, when about sixty disguised men, armed and mounted, rode into the public square, hallooing they wanted Dunlap and fried nigger meat, and then rode down Washington street toward my residence; when about one hundred yards from the public square, a few friends and myself fired upon them and they rode quickly out of sight, since which time I have not seen any Ku Klux.

Question. Are you now, and were you at the time you were beaten, teaching a school; and if so, was it a public school?

Answer. I am now teaching the public school in this place for colored youth, and was at the time I was beaten by the Ku Klux.

Question. You say that the Klan carried a flesh flag; what do you mean by a flesh flag?

Answer. I mean the color of flesh.

Question. Could you distinguish the color by moonlight?

Answer. I could; besides, my attention was called to it by the member of the Klan behind whom I rode.

The following is the form of the notice which he received:

Notice.

Mr. Dunlap, by order of the M. G., I write you this letter to inform you you must leave Shelbyville by the 16th of this month, (July, 1868,) if not, we will take you out, tie you to a stake, and burn you to death. Beware. By order of the K. K. K.

This threat of burning was not idle, for in Georgia the Ku Klux Klan actually burned a man alive at the stake.

HANGING.

Captain J. W. King swears:

Question. Were your premises ever visited by the Ku Klux; and if so, what did they do and say?

Answer. My own plantation was visited twice and the hands driven off, they reporting to me that the disguised desperadoes saying they would run every Radical out of the country. The plantation I was living upon was once visited by forty-seven disguised men; I was absent when they went there, but returned in time to see them leave; found my doors broken down, guns and pistols stolen and destroyed, clothing torn up, one member of our

family (lady) with her face bruised, a large lump on her head, where, she said, they (the infernal cowards) had struck her with their guns and pistols and said, "No damned Yankee bitch or son of a bitch should live in this country," saying, "We are going to rule this country." Five different times they came to the gate, from five to seventy-five, and finding I was home and prepared for them, dared not come in, and turned away; for over three months my son and I had to take it turn about in sleeping and watching to protect ourselves and the hands on the place.

Question. Do you know, or were you credibly informed, of negroes being hung in sight of voting-places or public places the night before the election, with boards upon their breasts labeled with warnings and threats?

Answer. I was informed by Mr. Sarsen, a reliable man, book-keeper on the Vite plantation, that he stood in his store door and saw a negro man hanging by the neck dead; and I was told by another gentleman, who said he helped take him down and have him buried, there was a label pinned upon him saying "Whoever cuts him down receives the same fate." This was within a mile of the polls, and my best recollection was it was the morning of the election.

Question. Do you remember the date when your family was so abused by men in disguise?

Answer. I think it was about the last of November or first of December, 1868.

Question. Near or within a mile of what voting-place did the reported hanging of the colored men take place, on whose breast was the warning not to cut him down, as you were informed?

Answer. The second district, or Prospect Station.

Question. How far is that from the Alabama line?

Answer. About two miles.

Question. Do you know the name of the colored man so reported to have been hung, and his politics?

Answer. I do not.

Question. Do you know whether he was a man of a good or of a bad character?

Answer. I heard he was a very quiet, inoffensive man.

OATH.

They are sworn to obey their superior officers and to keep secret the proceedings and doings of the Klan on penalty of death, and General Forrest says several Ku Klux have been executed by the Klan for disobedience.

LANGUAGE.

They have adopted the following vocabulary:

Dismal. Dark. Furious. Portentous. Wonderful. Alarming. Dreadful. Terrible. Horrible. Melancholy. Mournful. Dying. White. Green. Blue. Black. Yellow. Crimson. Fearful. Startling. Awful. Woful. Horrid. Bloody. Doleful. Sorrowful. Hideous. Frightful. Appalling. Lost.

NAMES.

They call themselves—

Wizards. Genii. Dragons. Hydras. Titans. Fairies. Giants. Cyclops of the Den. Night Hawks. Magi. Centaurs. Sacred Serpents. Ghouls.

And it must be admitted their actions justify the terms.

We know the result. Tennessee is gone. Thousands of Republicans all over Middle and West Tennessee were prevented from voting, or compelled to vote the Democratic ticket, while rebels were admitted to the ballot-box. We would have lost all the middle and west-

ern districts, but Governor BROWNLOW met the Ku Klux with a spirit as bold as their own, threw out the bloody returns, and gave certificates to men elected by peaceable precincts.

In 1869 all barriers were swept away.

In 1870 the Democracy carried all the districts out of East Tennessee, and almost captured that Switzerland of southern loyalty. The effect of such electioneering is lasting. There is little hope of that old Whig State until all men are protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and the right to express and vote their sentiments without molestation or alarm.

NORTH CAROLINA.

The State of North Carolina also appears in the official reports, but her condition is best exhibited by the evidence taken before the Senate committee. It appears from the testimony of members who have enough conscience left to tell the truth, that it is a political, military, Democratic organization, whose members are sworn to do all in their power to overthrow the Republican party, subvert the State government, and even the United States Government, and to these ends they use intimidation and violence. Their number in North Carolina is estimated at from thirty to sixty thousand. They have paralyzed the Republican party, and impeached the Governor for attacking and unearthing some of their dens. They have called a constitutional convention in violation of the constitution, which requires a two-thirds vote for that purpose, and they will so amend the constitution as to take full possession of the old North State, where a large proportion of the white people were loyal during the war and are now Republicans. This testimony is familiar, and I shall cite but little.

Oath of White Brotherhood, (Ku Klux Klan.)

You solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that you will never reveal the name of the person who initiated you; and that you will never reveal what is now about to come to your knowledge; and that you are not now a member of the Red String Order, Union League, Heroes of America, Grand Army of the Republic, or any other organization whose aim and intention is to destroy the rights of the South, or of the States, or of the people, or to elevate the negro to a political equality with yourself; and that you are opposed to all such principles: so help you God.

You further swear, before Almighty God, that you will be true to the principles of this brotherhood and the members thereof; and that you will never reveal any of the secrets, orders, acts, or edicts, and you will never make known to any person, not a known member of this brotherhood, that you are a member yourself, or who are members; and that you will never assist in initiating, or allow to be initiated, if you can prevent it, any one belonging to the Red String Order, Union League, Heroes of America, Grand Army of the Republic, or any one holding Radical views or opinions; and should any member of this brotherhood, or their families, be in danger, you will inform them of their danger, and, if necessary, you will go to their assistance; and that you will oppose all Radicals and negroes in all of their political designs; and that should any Radical or negro impose on, abuse, or injure any member of

this brotherhood, you will assist in punishing him in any manner the camp may direct.

You further swear that you will obey all calls and summonses of the chief of your camp or brotherhood, should it be in your power so to do.

Given upon this, your obligation, that you will never give the word of distress unless you are in great need of assistance; and should you hear it given by any brother you will go to his or their assistance; and should any member reveal any of the secrets, acts, orders, or edicts of the brotherhood, you will assist in punishing him in any way the camp may direct or approve of; so help you God.

Confession.

ALAMANCE COUNTY, July 28, 1868.

We, the undersigned, citizens of Alamance county, do hereby acknowledge that we have been members of an organization in said county, known to the public as the Ku Klux Klan, but known to the members thereof as the White Brotherhood, or Constitutional Union Guard.

This organization in the outset, as we understood it, was purely political, and for the mutual protection of the members thereof and their families; but since joining, we have been pained to know that, while the objects of the organization were to attain certain political ends, the means used and resorted to were such as would shock a civilized and enlightened people. And we hereby publicly and independently dissolve our connection with this organization, and call upon upright and law-abiding citizens everywhere to do the same thing, knowing, as we do, that unless the crimes which have been committed by this organization can be put a stop to, and the organization itself entirely broken up, civil liberty and personal safety are at an end in this county, and life and property and everything else will soon be at the mercy of an organized mob.

We intend to see that the signs, grips, and passwords of this organization are fully exposed, together with the plans of operations, &c., so that people everywhere may see with their own eyes.

In making these confessions we have implicated no one but ourselves, but we hope that our friends will take warning from what has transpired within the last few days, and immediately withdraw from organizations such as we have mentioned and assist us and all other good citizens in restoring peace and good order in our county.

CLEMENT C. CURTIS,
JAMES E. BOYD,
ROBERT HANNER,
JOHN R. STOCKARD,
JACOB MICHAEL,
J. N. H. CLEVELANDIN,
HENRY ALBRIGHT,
JAMES H. FOUST,
D. D. TEAGUE,
A. J. PATTERSON,
J. A. J. PATTERSON,
JOHN G. ALBRIGHT,
CHRIST C. CURTIS,
S. A. CURTIS,
W. S. BRADSHAW,
JASPER N. WOOD.

Many of the signers were examined and verify the statement. Some are men of character, position, and culture, but none tell the tale more clearly than Thomas F. Willeford. He was a member of the Klan, but his wife persuaded him to leave them.

He is denounced by Democrats, and even by gentlemen on this floor, as a perjured man, because he holds his allegiance to his country above his obligation to the Ku Klux Klan; and when examined under oath according to law, and sworn to testify the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as he shall answer

to God, he keeps his lawful oath and testifies truly, instead of forswearing himself to keep his unlawful oath to the Ku Klux Klan. And so are all witnesses who were members denounced for telling the truth.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 20, 1871.

Thomas F. Willeford sworn and examined:

By the Chairman:

Question. What is your occupation?

Answer. I am a carpenter.

Question. Where were you during the war?

Answer. I was in Lee's army.

Question. Have you any knowledge of an organization commonly called the Ku Klux in Lenoir county?

Answer. They had an organization there called the C. U. G.; the Union Guards I believe they called them.

Question. Were you a member of that organization?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What was its object, and how did it carry out its object?

Answer. Well, I believe it carried it out by all the meanness it could. The intention of it was, so the leading men told me, to overthrow the Republican party and put the other party in power. That is the way the oath was administered to me.

Question. Have you a copy of the oath?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Have you seen the oath that is published in the President's message?

Answer. Yes, sir; that is pretty much the same.

Question. Look at the oath as there given and say if that is the oath you took.

Answer. (Reads the oath.) That is pretty much the same oath.

By Mr. Nye:

Question. After you had taken this oath, state whether there was any explanation given as to what it meant.

Answer. Well, it meant the overthrow of the Republican party and injure it all they could, and have the other party come in power.

Question. State whether it was explained to you that it meant anything about the Constitution as it is or as it was.

Answer. As it was.

Question. Both of the State and of the Union?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. How many belonged to that organization in that locality?

Answer. I reckon there was some three or four hundred in our camp.

Question. This was in what county?

Answer. Lenoir.

Question. Do you know whether such an organization exists in the adjoining counties?

Answer. Yes, sir, at our meetings there were members came from other counties.

Question. What county?

Answer. Jones county; just across the river.

Question. While you were a member of the order in Lenoir county, were any orders or decrees issued to be executed upon any person?

Answer. Yes, sir; there was several. We broke the jail open and whipped two or three black men. We brought two of our own men out of jail and liberated them, De Vaughn and Hines.

Question. And took out three black men and whipped them?

Answer. No, sir; we took them out of their private houses.

Question. Do you know what that means?

Answer. They always told me the Union Guards.

Question. The Constitutional Union Guards?

Answer. Yes, sir; they told me they wanted the Constitution as it was before the war broke out.

Question. Did they tell you what the object was?

Answer. Yes, sir; in the first meeting. I was initiated in Kennedy's barn.

Question. Did you take the oath?

Answer. Yes, sir; and then the next Saturday went to the meeting.

Question. What did they tell you then was the object of the organization?

Answer. They told me it was to damage the Republican party as much as they could—burning, stealing, whipping niggers, and such things as that.

Question. Murder?

Answer. The leading men we were to murder.

Question. Were you sworn to keep the secrets of the order?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And to obey the orders of your commander?

Answer. Yes, sir; we had to obey them just the same as you had to obey your commander in the Army, every bit.

Question. What was the penalty, if you had any?

Answer. If we didn't obey them they were to punish us some way, and if we divulged anything they were to kill us.

Question. What was the name of the commander?

Answer. Jesse C. Kennedy.

Question. Do you recollect the names of any other officers of your Klan?

Answer. Yes, sir; Lawyer Munroe I think was north commander, and Ash De Vaughn I think was south.

Question. Was there a man by the name of Grelon west commander?

Answer. I think Tillou was our west.

Question. Did you ever hear that any of them were convicted?

Answer. No, sir; never did.

Question. Have you ever heard of a Ku Klux being convicted of any offense there?

Answer. No, sir.

Question. Was there anything in the obligation you took, or the rules of the order, as to your being obliged to defend men by your oaths, or otherwise?

Answer. Yes, sir; if he could get you in as a witness you had to swear him out, let you be swearing a lie or not. If you swore against him, why you might just as well be a traveling at once.

Question. You mean by that you would be in danger of your life from the order?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Anything about getting on the jury?

Answer. Yes, sir; if we could get on the jury we could save him, do what you please.

Question. No matter what the proof?

Answer. Yes, sir; you could not bring proof enough to convict?

Question. Were those who went out upon those errands to commit these outrages bound to report to anybody on their return?

Answer. Yes, sir; they had to report to the chief what they had done.

Question. Did your camp receive communication with other camps in different parts of the country?

Answer. Yes, sir; we received, I think, from three different counties.

Question. Did you ever ascertain the number of this order in the State of North Carolina?

Answer. Our leader told us there was about sixty thousand; that is all I ever knew—just hearing him say one day in meeting that they was growing very fast, and had about sixty thousand.

Question. Was there more than one order?

Answer. Yes, sir; there were two orders.

Question. What was the other?

Answer. The White Brotherhood.

Question. Was that a higher order?

Answer. No, sir; that is about where it commences.

Question. Then, this C. U. G. was a little higher?

Answer. Yes, sir; it was higher than the White Brotherhood.

Question. Was Kennedy, as your leader, in the habit of imparting to this White Brotherhood, when they met, such information as he received from other places?

Answer. Oh, yes, sir.

Question. Were there reported in your order murders and whippings from other portions of the country?

Answer. Well, I think there was two reports: one murder, and the other whipping nearly to death.

By Mr. Nye:

Question. Was there any arrangement in this Ku Klux Klan by which the wages of colored men were fixed?

Answer. Yes, sir; the men was to give a certain price, and no more.

Question. If any one gave more—

Answer. Why he was to have something done with him in some way; dealt with just whatever the camp said.

Question. State whether stealing was a part of the business of the Ku Klux.

Answer. Yes, sir, from black men; if they had horses we was to take them off.

Question. Or mules?

Answer. Yes, sir; any stock of any kind.

Question. What was done with that stock?

Answer. It was sold and divided among them.

Question. Among the Ku Klux?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. To steal horses and mules from negroes; what was that for?

Answer. To keep them from farming, so that they could hire them.

Question. Were there large numbers of horses and mules brought in?

Answer. Oh, yes, sir; lots of mules were stolen from about there.

Question. Were they sold?

Answer. Yes, sir; shipped toward South Carolina, I believe.

Question. And the proceeds divided?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. State to what extent this Ku Klux Klan was to go in breaking up what they called the Radical party.

Answer. Well, we was to put it out of the way, some way or another, (if not kill and burn,) till we got the Democrats into power.

Question. That was the direction you had from the Klan?

Answer. Yes, sir; the direction that they gave me and all the balance that was in there when I was.

Question. To kill and drive out till the Democratic party—

Answer. Got into power.

Question. Was that carried out?

Answer. Yes, sir, I believe so; it has the power, anyhow.

Question. Was that the business of the Ku Klux Klan?

Answer. That was what they told me it was; that was our duty, to break it up.

Question. During these meetings was the subject of being friendly or unfriendly to the United States Government talked over?

Answer. Well, we was to do any way we could to injure the Government, and get our people in power. That was our whole study.

Question. You went from Lenoir to Cabarrus county. Is Cabarrus your native county?

Answer. Yes, sir; where I was born and raised.

Question. Did you flee for fear of the Ku Klux in Lenoir?

Answer. Yes, sir; that was what I left for.

Question. Describe that.

Answer. They threatened me that if I didn't keep my mouth shut they intended to kill me. I got the news of it, and just left one morning. A young man named Jesse Kennedy, a cousin of the other Jesse, brought me up as far as Goldsborough, and then I took the train.

Question. When you got to Cabarrus county, did you find the order there?

Answer. I found some men there. They tried to start a little order, but they got scared and quit.

Question. Were there Ku Klux there?

Answer. Oh, yes, sir; I found some, but I don't think there was any meeting at all in that whole county.

Question. Was there any in the adjoining county?

Answer. I think there was in Rowan county; most of them was there.

Question. Did you attend a meeting there?

Answer. One; it was the White Brotherhood.

Question. While in Cabarrus county did you go into South Carolina?

Answer. Yes, sir; I went into South Carolina as I came from Lenoir county; I found my friends in South Carolina.

Question. State whether the order existed there.

Answer. Yes, sir; they told me it existed from there on to Georgia.

Question. Did you learn from your commander, or otherwise, that the order existed throughout the southern States?

Answer. Yes, sir; I heard him tell me them very words out of his mouth—that it existed plumb through the southern States; said they had a complete line of it.

Question. Of what kind of people was the Ku Klux Klan composed? Was it made up of men who were in the rebel army?

Answer. Yes, sir. I don't believe there was one that belonged to it but what had been in the army. There was one little fellow, with one leg shorter than the other—I don't think he was in the army.

Question. Was it composed of rebel officers and soldiers?

Answer. Yes, sir; the officers of our Klan had been officers in the army.

Question. Were you a soldier in the rebel army throughout?

Answer. Yes, sir; I went clear through the whole business.

Question. In your camp in Lenoir county were the men masked?

Answer. Not at the meetings; but they would black their faces and get some old things on at night, if they wanted to do any devilment. But the night we went to the jail we just went full-handed.

Question. Some of you had disguises?

Answer. Some had a little black shroud.

Question. What was the uniform?

Answer. I never saw it but once. It was made pretty much like one of those knit caps, only two horns run out on each side and one came over.

Question. A head-dress with three horns?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What was the color of the garments?

Answer. A black shroud, with a little string drawing it around the neck. It fits loose.

Question. Did you ever hear in your camps the subject of a foreign war talked of?

Answer. Yes, sir; I heard them say if there was a foreign war started up and the United States should take a hand in it, that they could jump in on their backs and lick 'em out.

Question. Lick the United States out?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. When did you hear that?

Answer. In 1869.

Question. State whether or not it was freely talked over in those meetings.

Answer. Oh, yes; it was talked over in our camp. I know the whole camp heard it.

Question. They said if the United States took a hand in it—

Answer. Then they could jump in on her back and wool her out.

Question. State whether or not that was the sentiment of the camp.

Answer. Yes, sir; I believe it was generally over the whole camp.

Question. Was it your intention?

Answer. Yes, sir; it was.

Question. Was there anything said, and if so, what, about being able in that way to get back what you lost in the rebellion?

Answer. Yes, sir; they said that that was the only way we would ever get it back, was to wait for a foreign war, and let the United States go into it, and

then they could crawl on her back and get back what we lost.

Question. Did you find in the county adjoining Cabarrus the same order as in Lenoir?

Answer. Yes, sir; pretty much the same thing.

Question. And in South Carolina?

Answer. Yes, sir; the signs would be just exactly alike after they took another degree.

Question. Did you talk with the Ku Klux in the county where you moved in South Carolina?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. What did they say, if anything, were their objects—the same as yours?

Answer. Yes, sir; the same thing.

Question. To clear out the Republican party?

Answer. Yes, sir; clean 'em out. I have heard them remark since that North Carolina had come out from under Republicans before South Carolina; that South Carolina had still to lay in.

Question. Were you ever present when any negroes were taken out and whipped?

Answer. I was in one scrape.

Question. What did you whip him for?

Answer. He was one of these leaders; he had some seven or eight that would vote the same ticket that he voted, and Kennedy said he must be lashed so as to make the others not vote that ticket.

Question. And you went and did it?

Answer. No, sir; I didn't do a bit of whipping.

Question. How many went?

Answer. Six.

Question. By Kennedy's direction?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Was it a decree at a meeting of the camp?

Answer. Yes, sir; Kennedy was our commander, and he could not make a command without he had a meeting.

Question. Do you remember the meeting when the negro whipping was voted?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Were you there?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. And voted for it?

Answer. I did.

Question. And then went with the party to assist in doing it?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Where was that?

Answer. About three miles from Kinston.

Question. What was the man's name you whipped?

Answer. His name was John.

Question. John what?

Answer. Wesley, I believe. I never saw the nigger but once in my life. They told me that was his name.

Question. When was that?

Answer. In 1869.

Question. Were all these events you spoke of done in that year?

Answer. All done in 1869; it was not three months' time past, because they had just got a-going full headway, and I know the detective jumped in one night and gathered twelve of our men at one time and took 'em to Newbern.

Question. What detective?

Answer. Myers.

Question. United States deputy marshal?

Answer. I don't know what he was.

Question. Was he a detective for illicit distilling?

Answer. Oh, no.

Question. What was he a detective for?

Answer. It was to catch these outrages.

Question. Where were these twelve men when he caught them?

Answer. At home; but he had got their names before, and he took 'em when they was asleep.

Question. Where did he carry them to?

Answer. To Newbern.

Question. Did he put them in prison?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Was he a United States officer?

Answer. I reckon so; he passed for that.

Well, my wife was the cause of the whole busi-

ness, just right straight along. She had been working at me, and telling me that she had got tired of hearing such as that, and wanted me to get out of it if I could. Then I went to McDonald and asked him, and he said yes, he thought he could.

Question. Did you see Governor Holden?

Answer. I did. I went in his office, and asked him if there was any chance of my getting a pardon—anything of that kind. He asked me what for? and I told him my wife had been in distress now for over twelve months, and wanted me out of the concern. He told me then that he could, and then I just made the statement.

Question. After you got into the order and knew the obligations that were imposed upon you, would you have considered it your duty to carry out any order that they might impose upon you to save your own life?

Answer. Well, of course, a man's life is pretty dear to him.

Question. Suppose you had not carried out an order?

Answer. Well, they would have killed me right straight. That is what they told me they would do.

Question. Was that what was told each member after he came in?

Answer. Yes, sir; that if he did not obey his officer he was to be dealt with according to the camp; and then if he revealed anything from the camp he was to die.

The most fearful fruit of this conspiracy is the murder of Wyatt Outlaw, an innocent man and a good, quiet citizen, who was hanged in a county town within a few yards of the courthouse, and was left hanging till near noon, no person daring to cut him down, because there was a warning on his breast, and shortly after a simple-minded negro was drowned because he had seen the Ku Klux leaving the town. The report shows two hundred and fifty-seven outrages—hanging, drowning, shooting, wounding, scourging, and all manner of wrongs.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

South Carolina has long been called the "hot-bed of treason." She has generally taken part in all mischief from Tory to Ku Klux. And now her Governor calls on the President to suppress the insurrection. We have several books of testimony showing that in two districts, at the last presidential election, fifteen thousand voters were kept away from the polls, or compelled to vote the Democratic ticket, by the Ku Klux Klan. A man who belonged to the Klan, and killed a Republican State officer under its orders, testifies and exposes it. This is the same organization as that in North Carolina, but more open and bold. Here the element of treason to the State and national governments is most pronounced. The Klans are armed with Winchester rifles, and go to the polls in arms and carry elections by force.

William K. Tolbert, of lawfulness, being duly sworn, says:

Question. What is your name, and where do you reside, and your occupation?

Answer. I live at Greenwood, Abbeville county, South Carolina; farming.

Question. How long have you lived in Abbeville county?

Answer. All my life.

Question. Were you in Abbeville county during

the months of July, August, September, October, and November, 1869?

Answer. I was.

Question. How old are you?

Answer. Twenty-nine years old.

Question. Did you belong to either of the political parties during the last campaign?

Answer. I did, sir.

Question. To which one?

Answer. Democrat.

Question. How was the Democratic party organized in Abbeville county?

Answer. Into clubs, Democratic clubs.

Question. Did you belong to one of those clubs?

Answer. Yes; to Greenwood club.

Question. Where did your club hold its meetings?

Answer. At the depot; met once a week.

Question. Were your meetings public?

Answer. Public to Democrats, but not to Radicals.

No Radical allowed to come in.

Question. Was there any secret organization connected with those clubs?

Answer. Yes, sir; committees were appointed which met in secret, and they appointed men to patrol in each different neighborhood.

Question. For what purpose were these men detailed to patrol?

Answer. To find out where the negroes were holding Union Leagues.

Question. They were instructed, you say, to patrol these neighborhoods; what other instructions had they, if any?

Answer. To break them up; kill the leaders; fire into them and kill the leader if they could.

Question. Were there any other instructions given to these committees by the Democratic clubs in relation to the election to be held on the 3d November?

Answer. Yes, sir. The day before the election the tickets were taken away from the Republican party, from those who had charge of the tickets, by these committees. The committees were searching for them the night before the election, taking them wherever they could find them. I was one of the gangs myself. Ten or eleven were with me. I was a member of the committee myself. Destroyed the tickets. All of us were armed.

Question. What were your instructions if the persons having the tickets in charge refused to give them up?

Answer. Shoot them and take them by force.

Question. Were you well acquainted throughout the county?

Answer. Yes, sir.

Question. Have you the means of knowing, and do you know, what were the political sentiments of the negro population in that county, and how they would have voted if they had been allowed to vote?

Answer. There were at least four colored votes to one white vote in the county. They would have voted for the Republican candidate—at least ninety-nine out of each hundred.

Question. Where were you on the day of election, 3d November, 1869?

Answer. In fore part of the day at a voting precinct, Greenwood, in Abbeville county. A courier came in from Whitehall precinct, Abbeville county, saying they were fighting there, (this was about one o'clock,) and that the Republicans were about whipping. A squad of us, armed, about thirty besides myself, were sent there. When we got there the Republicans were all gone, except one, who was lying there dead. Heard that others were wounded. There had been some shooting; don't know if the Republicans shot. No white man was shot. Only two colored men were allowed to vote before shooting commenced at Whitehall.

Question. About how many colored men usually voted at that precinct?

Answer. Some four or five hundred.

Question. How would those four or five hundred men have voted if they had been allowed to vote?

Answer. They would have voted the Republican ticket.

Question. Did the Democrats come to the White-

hall polling precinct armed on the day of the election?

Answer. Every one, so far as I know. It was a general understanding throughout the county that all were to go armed.

Question. State what occurred at Greenwood precinct up to the time you left to go to Whitehall.

Answer. Well, the negroes, to the number of about four hundred voters, in Abbeville county, assembled about one hundred and fifty yards from the polls. The white men, Democrats, were all around the door. Captain J. G. Boozer was sitting right by the door to examine the tickets. Don't know whether Boozer was appointed. He was there for that business. Two Republicans, colored men, came up to vote. They came from the main body. He said: "Let me see your papers." They pulled out the Republican tickets with Hoge's name on them for Congress. He told them that they could not vote them sort there; they would have to go somewhere else to vote those papers. Boozer was armed. They turned back to the main body, who saw that there was no chance to vote, so they disbanded and went home, about four hundred of them, all voters in Abbeville county.

Question. Were the Republican tickets taken by any member of the Democratic party from the messenger who had them in charge while on his way to ninety-sixth precinct; and if so, what was done with the tickets?

Answer. Yes; they were taken away by John G. Boozer, who distributed them among white men, and destroyed many of them; all were destroyed after looking at them.

Question. Was there any understanding among the Democrats as to what they would do at Greenwood if the colored men insisted upon voting?

Answer. Yes; a clear understanding that the Democrats would force them from the polls if they undertook to vote—force them by arms; we were all armed, and intended if they rushed in we would rush them back, shooting into them; can't say if it was a general understanding throughout the county; I believe it was.

Question. State if it was safe for Republican speakers to canvass that county.

Answer. No, sir; it was not safe.

Question. What was the general understanding as to how Republican speakers were to be treated?

Answer. Shoot them; kill them; stop it.

Question. State if in accordance with that general understanding in the county any Republican leaders or speakers were killed or shot?

Answer. There were.

Question. About how many men were shot or killed in Abbeville during months from July, 1869, to day of election?

Answer. There were—let us see—I know of four that were shot; one got over it; three were killed; several others were shot and wounded, but I don't know the persons.

Question. State if the persons were shot because they were Republicans.

Answer. They were killed because of the influence they had with others in the Republican party, and because they were members of the Republican party.

Question. Give the names of the three men that were killed.

Answer. Martin—James Martin, a member of the General Assembly, a resident of Abbeville county; B. F. Randolph, a Republican speaker, who came there with Judge Hoge—don't know whether he was a State senator or not; the other man—I don't remember his name—he was killed at Whitehall election day; I saw him.

Question. State if it was the intention to kill me at the same time as Randolph.

Answer. Don't know; the people said you ought to be killed—that Judge Hoge ought to be killed.

Question. What did they mean when they said that a man ought to be killed?

Answer. They meant to kill him if they got a chance.

Question. State where Mr. Randolph was killed.

Answer. At Hodges's Depot, in Abbeville county.
Question. Are you well known at Hodges's Depot?
Answer. Yes; well known by everybody.
Question. State the date when Mr. Randolph was killed.

Answer. I think on the 16th of October, 1868.
Question. At what time in the day was he killed?
Answer. About one or two o'clock in the day-time.
Question. Were you present?

Answer. Yes.
Question. Were you disguised in any way?
Answer. No, sir.
Question. Did citizens living at Hodges's Depot recognize you at that time and see you?

Answer. Yes, sir; both saw and recognized me. I talked with a half dozen of them—Fletcher, Hodges, Langdon, Conner, Jim Cochran.

Question. State how you happened to be at Hodges's Depot the day Randolph was killed.

Answer. I heard he was going to make a speech there, and I went up to hear it. When I got there they told me that he was not going to speak there—that he had gone up to Abbeville Court-House, and was going to Anderson that night (afternoon) on the train. Joshua Logan and J. W. Talbert came to the depot with me. Both were known at Hodges's Depot.

Question. State what was done by you, and by Talbert, and Logan, and what was said and done by others until the train arrived from Abbeville, and what was done after the train did arrive at Hodges's Depot.

Answer. When we arrived there, we found a crowd of men, some eight or ten besides our number. We commenced talking about Randolph; that he had threatened to Colonel Aiken to burn up the State; that he could do it in three words, and that we must kill him. Langdon Conner, and Fletcher Hodges said this to us after we came up. We all were armed. I mean all at Hodges's Depot. They put up a target and we all shot off our pistols at it. We did it to reload our pistols so as to be sure that they would fire, being freshly loaded. They put it on Logan, Talbert, and myself to do the shooting, saying that as we did not live there the negroes would not know us; if any more shooting was to be done, they would do it; that if Randolph's guard fired on us, they would fire on them. When the train came in Langdon Conner went to the conductor and asked him if Randolph was on board, and he came back and said he was on the train. The train ran up to the side of the platform. Randolph was sitting by the door of the car. The rest all went to the upper end of the platform and got on the platform. I went to the lower end; just at this time the Greenville train ran up. Randolph immediately changed cars, and walked back into the last passenger-coach and took his seat. James Cochran stepped up to me at that time and says, "Bill, you fellows ought to have been disguised." I said, "Jim, what do you think of it, anyhow?" He says, "He ought to be killed, and now is the time to do it—right now." Fletcher Hodges came up with a roll of money in his hand, and says, "As soon as you do it, we give you this, and we will back you; if there is any more shooting we will do it." By this time Randolph had got off his seat and walked out on the platform of the car. John Brooks came up with his pistol in his hand, and he says, "Now is your time; here he stands on the platform," and he pointed him out to me. Logan, Talbert, and myself done the shooting—we all three shot him, and he was killed dead, and Langdon Conner told us to go on, they would do the balance; he had his pistol in his hand. We got on our horses and rode off.

Question. Did any person living at Hodges's Depot attempt to arrest you?

Answer. No, sir; we went to Alick Ellis's, about two and a half miles off. He was not at home. We wanted to see him on business. He was at Cokesburg. Logan and Talbert went to Cokesburg to see him, and found him there in a Democratic meeting. They came back to Alick Ellis's with him. They told me that Randolph's name was brought up in the Democratic meeting as to what they would do

with him. Some said cut him up and feed him to the dogs. Others said they would box him up and express him to Governor Scott as a present. Ellis knew that he was killed, and killed by us, and that some of the members of the Democratic club saw it done—saw Randolph killed. (Witness is here warned by the respondent's counsel to speak only from his own knowledge.) I speak from my own knowledge.

Question. Were any of the members of the Democratic club present when the shooting took place?

Answer. Yes, sir.
Question. Did they say anything about the shooting.
Answer. They advised me to shoot him, to kill him, and they would back me in it.

Question. State the names of some of the members of the Democratic club who were present and advised the shooting.

Answer. James Cochran, Langdon Conner, and Fletcher Hodges are three that I remember. Don't know that there was a coroner's inquest; was told there was one; was told the foreman of the jury; don't know who was on it.

Question. State if there existed in Abbeville or in any other of the counties in the third congressional district of South Carolina an organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.

Answer. There was in Abbeville.
Question. Did that organization exist in other counties?

Answer. I do not know it of my own knowledge, but from pass-words and signs it did, given by members that I knew by signs to belong to the Klan in other counties.

Question. Was that a secret organization?

Answer. It was.
Question. Was it a political organization?

Answer. It was a political organization of the Democratic party.

Question. Did the political organization of the Democratic party known as the Ku Klux Klan exist in all the counties of the third congressional district?

Answer. I can speak that it existed in Edgefield, Abbeville, and Laurens.

Question. Did the parties joining that organization in Abbeville and other counties take an oath upon joining?

Answer. They did.
Question. About what proportion of the members of the Democratic party in Abbeville belonged to that Klan?

Answer. Nearly all.
Question. Name some of them.

Answer. Captain J. G. Boozer, D. Cresswell, Fletcher Hodges, Langdon Conner, Bob Stansler; don't know that D. Wyatt Aiken.

Question. What were the objects and intentions of that organization of the Democratic party known as the Ku Klux Klan?

Answer. To regulate the Republican party, break it up if they could, and strengthen the Democratic party.

Question. What means were they to use in order to break up the Republican party?

Answer. Kill out the leaders of the Republican party and drive them out of the State.

Question. Did every member, upon joining that Klan, take an oath to carry out those principles?

Answer. The oath taken was this: to do whatever their leader ordered them to do.

Question. State if those organizations were officered; if so, state what those officers were called.

Answer. We had a leader in every organization; he was known as the captain of the company.

Question. Were you sworn to obey the orders of the captain of your company?

Answer. Yes, sir.
Question. Did the captain of your company give you any orders in regard to killing presidents of Union Leagues and leaders of the Republican party, and speakers of the same?

Answer. Yes, sir, he did; he told us to find out when the Leagues met, and to fire into them and kill their president if we could.

Question. Were those orders carried out and en-

forced by the members of the company as far as possible?

Answer. Yes, they were.
Question. Was it understood that Mr. Randolph was the president of the Union Leagues and engaged in organizing them?

Answer. Yes, sir; he was the man that organized the Union Leagues in South Carolina, and that was one of the reasons why he was killed.

Question. State if you had any orders from the captain of your company in regard to allowing negroes to vote on the 3d November, 1868; if so, what those orders were.

Answer. We had a meeting the night before the election; had orders from our captain to come early to the precinct next morning armed and not allow a negro Republican to cast a vote; to try to persuade them to vote the Democratic ticket, and if they insisted upon voting to force them back, to fight them, kill them, shoot them.

Question. What was the name of the captain of your company, and how many members belonged to your company.

Answer. John G. Boozer was the captain; about twenty that I know, but there were more than that.

Iredell Jones:
Question. I am twenty-eight years of age; I reside at Rockhill, Fork county, South Carolina, and am a merchant.

Question. Were there any secret organizations in your county?

Answer. There were two; one the Union League and the other the Ku Klux.

Question. Did the Ku Klux travel over the county disguised, men and horses?

Answer. They did.
Question. What was the object of the Ku Klux?

Answer. Their object was reported to be to intimidate Republican voters.

Question. Were they armed as well as disguised?

Answer. They were.
Question. Did the Ku Klux ride over the county generally for some time before the election?

Answer. They did.
John L. Watson:

Question. Did the Democrats import into your county a number of improved fire-arms previous to that election?

Answer. Such was the general understanding, that large numbers were brought in?

Question. Did you ever see the Ku Klux in your neighborhood?

Answer. I saw them pass my house in Ebenezer, in disguise, having their horses also disguised.

Question. Was that the same night that your neighbor, Captain Ferris's house, and that Governor Fewel was attacked?

Answer. It was not the same night.
Question. Did you ever see the Ku Klux at Rockhill depot after night?

Answer. I saw men who I believed, from their actions, belonged to the Ku Klux.

Question. Was Iredell Jones one of that party?

Answer. He was, and seemed to be the leader of the party. From conversation I had with him I believe they were waiting upon Comptroller General Neagle, who they said it was reported would come on the train. It was currently reported throughout the country that General Neagle's life was threatened if he came there.

Question. Were the Ku Klux generally organized throughout your county, and did they succeed in frightening away from the polls very many Republicans?

Answer. They were, and did.
William L. Rogers, (Democrat):

I am thirty-six years of age, and am a merchant.
Question. What was the feeling toward Republicans in Pickens county at and previous to the congressional and presidential election in 1868?

Answer. It was very bitter and hostile toward them. I heard a great many threats made against the Republicans in that canvass. A letter was dropped at my house threatening me.

Question. What was the effect upon the colored men by the threats and intimidations used by the Democracy?

Answer. They very much frightened the colored people, and kept very many from the polls.

Question. Was there a Democratic club in your neighborhood?

Answer. There was. At its organization I joined it, but afterward withdrew from it. I acted for some time as its president.

Question. Why did you withdraw from it?

Answer. Because they passed resolutions declaring that they would give no work to any man, white or black, who voted the Republican ticket, nor permit him to live upon their lands, nor sell him provisions, but would starve him out.

Question. Did they publish these resolutions for the sake of intimidating voters?

Answer. They did, and they had great effect.

Hon. Robert K. Scott, being duly sworn:
Question. What is your name, your residence, and official position?

Answer. Robert K. Scott, Columbia, South Carolina, and Governor of the State.

Question. Were you the Governor of the State of South Carolina from July to December, 1868?

Answer. I was inaugurated on the 9th of August, 1868, and have acted in that official capacity up to the present time.

Question. State what was the political condition of the State in the counties of Newberry, Abbeville, Edgefield, and Anderson during that time, and in the months of October and November, 1868.

Answer. There was a great political excitement existing in those counties. The laws could not be and were not enforced in those counties during that time.

Question. Why were not the laws enforced in those counties?

Answer. Because of political organizations that set at defiance the officers of the law.

Question. State which of those organizations was organized in opposition to the law?

Answer. From information received by me as Executive of the State, I was forced to the conclusion that the Democratic party was organized for the purpose of preventing the officers of the law from enforcing the law against any of their political partisans, and for the purpose of controlling the elections to take place in November in the interest of that party alone.

Question. Did those political organizations arm themselves to carry out the objects of their organization?

Answer. I was informed by men who claimed to be members of Democratic clubs that they were arming themselves with 16-shooters, (Winchester rifles,) with the declared purpose of first controlling the election by keeping the negroes away from the polls; and if resistance was made they would shoot the negroes down, and thereby intimidate them, and thereby prevent the more timid from attending at all.

Question. State if, in accordance with these declarations, they did import these rifles.

Answer. I inquired of James G. Gibbs, of this city, if the statement was true that they were importing these rifles. He admitted the truth of the statement.

I think that there was scarcely a mail received at the executive department during the months of September, October, and November, 1868, that I did not get one or more letters reporting the murder of citizens of the county, and claimed by the writers of these letters that they were murdered on account of political opinions, or other outrages committed on them, and begging of me to send a military force to the county to give the people protection against lawless men.

Question. What was the condition of Abbeville county as to outrages; also of Newberry?

Answer. The condition of these counties was greatly similar to that of Edgefield, in Abbeville county. I have reports on file of nineteen murders, all com-

mitted before November election. The men murdered were generally reported to me as leaders of Union Leagues; and all were Republicans. I believe.

Question. Do you not know that the importation of arms into the State was brought about by the fact that every negro man in the State was the owner of a fire-arm, and the white men almost entirely unarmed?

Answer. On the contrary, I know exactly to the reverse of that; that you would scarcely meet a white man without a revolver and a double-barreled shot-gun. It is true that many of the colored men were armed with shot-guns and old muskets, and not more than a large minority had even these arms. I wish to give the white men of the State the credit of having more knowledge of the negro character than to believe that it was necessary in any emergency to provide themselves with these destructive weapons in a time of profound peace.

Question. You think, then, and so testify, that the 16-shooters were imported to kill negroes?

Answer. I believe, from evidence that I dare not regard as worthless, that it was the belief of a party of this State, or a large number of men of this State, that the Democratic candidates for President and Vice President would be elected, and thereby a decision would be given against the reconstruction laws of Congress, and it was the intention of these men to inaugurate a civil war for the purpose of overthrowing the government that had been established at the South. I will give as one reason for this belief conversations that were not uncommon among those who were most active in importing these arms, or rather distributing these arms, wherein they expressed their plan of operation, in which they stated that they would bring about a riot, in this riot they would kill off the leading Republicans, both white and black, and that it would be an easy matter, after they were disposed of, to control the more easy and timid negro with these guns in their hands. With the present State officers disposed of, they would call a new election, when they would have the whole matter in their own hands. In answer to an inquiry whether they did not fear that they would be called to answer for this wholesale work, they said, "Who ever heard of anybody being punished for a riot?" and referred to Memphis, Camilla, and New Orleans in 1866.

Question. You think, then, the 16-shooters were intended for another rebellion and a new secession?

Answer. I think they were intended for a new rebellion, but not a new secession.

Governor Scott further testifies:

Question. From your official knowledge, what was the political condition of affairs in the fourth congressional district of South Carolina at and previous to that election?

Answer. From official and other information I am satisfied that there were organizations in all the counties of the fourth congressional district to prevent a full and fair expression at that election. It was a part of their purpose and organization to prevent Republicans from voting, by whatever means it was necessary to accomplish that object. During the canvass, for two months before the election, constant reports came to the executive office of the most flagrant and infamous outrages being perpetrated upon the leading colored Republicans.

Question. Did you hear the lives of any Republican leaders threatened of the fourth congressional district?

Answer. I did; a prominent man of this city, who was a Democrat himself, said that it was the determination of the people to kill Senator Rose, of York county, and Joseph Crews, member of the Legislature from Laurens, as they had made themselves so obnoxious to their old friends by allying themselves with the "nigger or Radical party;" that he would advise them not to return to their homes; that they and better leave the State, as they could not live in it.

Question. Were the lives of Republican speakers safe in the canvass?

Answer. They were not; Mr. Randolph, chairman

of the Republican State central committee, was killed at Hodges's Depot on his return from Abbeville Court-House, in the course of his canvass of the upper portion of the State; and so thoroughly was I convinced that it was unsafe to canvass the State that I wrote and advised A. S. Wallace, the candidate of the fourth congressional district, and his friends to come from Spartanburg here to Columbia and to cease the canvass, or they would lose their lives.

Question. Which of the counties in the fourth congressional district were the most dangerous and turbulent from the official information you received?

Answer. Union, York, and Laurens were the most; Spartanburg, Pickens, and Oconee were very turbulent, and mob violence was used, but not to the same extent as in York, Union, and Laurens; in Greenville, Fairfield, and Chester a comparatively fair election, for the upper part of this State, was held.

Question. From official information did there exist such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan in all these counties?

Answer. There did in all these counties, as well as in the entire upper part of the State, and still exists and continues to commit depredations upon the people to such extent that I have even recently been compelled in York county to organize a militia company, who are now standing guard to protect their persons and property against their lawless violence.

Question. Did you take measures to protect the people in those counties at that time?

Answer. I did. In addition to the constabulary force of the State, I called upon General Meade, the commandant of this military district, to establish military posts in the counties of Union, York, Laurens, and Chester; but these troops were so few in number, and their orders were such, that they could do but little more than afford a sort of moral influence in the immediate vicinity of the towns in which they were stationed; other parts of the counties were left entirely unprotected.

Question. From your knowledge, obtained from reliable sources, was there a fair election held at that time in this district?

Answer. Except in the counties of Fairfield, Chester, and Greenville, the election was a mere farce, and no man in the counties who has the least sense of honesty would say otherwise; the frauds, intimidations, violence, and murders were so well understood by all men inside and outside of those counties, that I cannot believe that there is a single man in those counties who would so stultify himself as to say that there was anything like an approximation to a fair election; the Democracy carried the election by intimidation and violence alone.

Question. Why did you not have troops distributed throughout all these counties to protect the citizens in their rights?

Answer. For the simple reason that there were not a sufficient number of troops in the State; if there had been, I would have placed at least one company in every county in the third and fourth congressional districts; I knew they were badly needed in all of them.

Question. Was it not your duty as Executive of the State to protect all its citizens?

Answer. It was; but the government had been but recently organized under the reconstruction acts, and had not a single gun with which to arm the militia, and it would have been folly to have placed inexperienced and unarmed men against organized and disciplined ex-confederate soldiers, armed with the most approved weapons known to modern warfare, the Winchester 14-shooting rifles, which had been shipped into the State during the summer and fall of 1868 in large numbers and distributed among these counties for the express purpose of spreading terror and intimidation throughout the district during the campaign and the election, and for the publicly-avowed purpose of overturning the government of the State, provided the election should result favorably for Seymour and Blair. This intention was not only a subject of daily conversation among their people, but was openly declared by their public speakers.

John B. Hubbard:

I am forty years of age; reside in Columbia; am chief constable of the State of South Carolina. I have been chief constable of the State since the 27th day of August, 1868, and have resided in the State since 1863. I was detective under Generals Sickles and Canby.

Question. Were you through the counties of the fourth congressional district previous to the presidential and congressional election; and what was the political condition of affairs there at that time?

Answer. In all the counties except one there were threats, intimidations, and violence used against Republicans. Men were taken out by the Ku Klux and whipped, to frighten them from voting the Republican ticket. My subordinates officially notified me that in all the counties west of Broad river, as well as in York county, Ku Klux abounded in numbers and spread general terror all over the country. They traveled disguised, with their faces masked, themselves covered with different habits, and their horses spread over with sheets or covers. They left notes with skull and cross-bones, and mottoes, such as "Beware; your time has come," and also frequently left coffins at and about different doors.

When I was in Union, in the summer and fall of 1868, they declared openly that they would carry the election their way, no matter what occurred. I asked them how, and they said, "We have a trick you will see." In York they said that if they had known that I was Hubbard I would never have gotten out alive. In the same county numerous cases of whippings and shootings were officially reported to me. The Ku Klux abounded everywhere. In Laurens county cases were officially reported to me in which men were stationed on the highways to prevent Republican voters from going to the polls. Numerous outrages and murders were perpetrated on Republicans. There was one case in which, in the town of Laurens, a man was publicly shot down in the streets for simply saying he was a Republican; another case, in which twenty shots were fired upon a Republican in daylight, until he was chased entirely out of the town. In Oconee, Pickens, and Spartanburg the same state of affairs existed. In Greenville, except in the lower part of the county, in which Ku Klux abounded, it was not so bad. In all the other counties a general system of intimidation and terrorism reigned supreme. I daily expected to hear that my deputies were killed, and that anarchy had taken possession of the county.

So great was the danger that I advised the members of the Legislature of Laurens and York not to go home during the recess. Every time that I myself went into those counties I thought I would not get back alive. I was told by prominent Democrats that I would not get back; that I would be killed. Prominent Democrats advised my friends in New York to get me to leave the State; that their political friends had sworn to kill me. My principal danger was in the third and fourth congressional districts of the State. The Ku Klux organization in these districts was perfect. I was told since, by members of that organization, that they had couriers posted all over the country who could travel as fast as the cars; that if a disturbance commenced at any of the polls a general massacre of Republicans was intended.

Question. Were there many Winchester rifles shipped into those counties by the Democrats?

Answer. Several thousand were shipped by express, as well as many on private account. There was a general distributing office here in Columbia.

Question. Was there a picture of leading Republicans taken and distributed throughout the State, so that they might be recognized and murdered?

Answer. There was. It was sent among the Democratic roughs throughout the entire State.

H. C. Brawley:

I am thirty-five years of age; reside in Chester county, South Carolina, near the York county line, and am a farmer.

Question. Did you know the leader of the Ku Klux band, as well as a number of the band itself, who

patrolled the country at night previous to this election?

Answer. I did; but do not think it safe to give their names.

Question. Were those bands armed and disguised?

Answer. They were disguised, and armed with 16-shooters. The country was then, and still is, full of those guns.

W. A. Bishop, farmer:
Question. How long have you resided in Greenville county?

Answer. About sixteen or seventeen years.

Question. Did you hear Democrats express their opinion in regard to the reconstruction laws and the State government organized under them?

Answer. They considered the reconstruction laws were unconstitutional, and that the State government would not stand, and that it was illegal, and all laws passed were null and void, and that they would not respect the State officers.

John B. Hyde:

I was frequently notified by persons that if Seymour and Blair were elected I would be run out of the country, and could not live in Greenville. Pictures of coffins were posted on the doors of the houses of prominent Republicans.

W. Magill Fleming:

Question. What opinions did you hear expressed by the Democrats in regard to the reconstruction laws and the State government organized under them?

Answer. They held that the reconstruction acts were illegal, unconstitutional, and void, and that the State government organized thereby was a usurpation of the rights of citizens of this State, and ought to be resisted by every means which God and nature had put in their power.

Thomas Hill:

Question. Did they prevent the Union League from meeting there?

Answer. They broke it up entirely, and would watch in the woods to keep Republicans from meeting there.

Question. Were the Republicans peaceable and well-behaved?

Answer. They were afraid to show themselves. It was not safe for a man to say that he was a Republican. He would be shot down on the street for saying so. One man by the name of Tabby, who was president of the Union League, was shot down in John Kyle's store, in the town of Laurens, in broad daylight, simply for being a Republican.

Question. Did you ever join the Democratic club at Laurens Court-House?

Answer. I did. Being a poor man, and in order to save my life, I was compelled to sail under false colors and join the club.

Question. Were you ever present at the meetings of that club?

Answer. I was often present.

Question. Did that club ever pass resolutions to prevent Republicans from voting at the presidential and congressional election in 1868; and, if so, what was the character of these resolutions?

Answer. They did. They passed resolutions to furnish every white Democrat with arms, so as to be able to take possession of the polls and prevent the Republicans from voting on the day of the said election.

Question. Were the Democrats generally armed on that day?

Answer. Every one of them was armed.

Enoch Cannon:

I am a citizen of Spartanburg, South Carolina; was born and raised in that county; I am twenty-seven years old.

Question. What position did you hold at the time of said election?

Answer. I was acting deputy State constable in Spartanburg county.

Question. Was there much excitement, and was the feeling bitter?

Answer. Very bitter indeed.

Question. Which party occasioned the trouble?

Answer. The Democratic party, who had been

legally defeated in the contest for the election of members to the State convention.

Question. Who were the leaders of the Democratic party in your county at that time?

Answer. The very men who led the county into rebellion in 1860.

Question. What was the tone of the press in your county at the time and previous to this election?

Answer. It was bitter and threatening against the United States Government and all its friends; against the reconstruction policy of Congress and the friends of the State government.

Question. What was the condition of Spartanburg county at and previous to the day of the election?

Answer. It was very nearly in a state of rebellion against the United States Government, and terror and intimidation reigned supreme. While carrying the United States flag I was ordered to halt by the leading Democrats, and both me and the flag was cursed by them, and the United States Government, as well as the government of the State of South Carolina, were denounced by them in blatant terms.

T. M. Graham, born and raised in Chester:

Question. Do you know that fire-arms were brought to Chester during the canvass?

Answer. Yes, I know that a great many of those new-fashioned breech-loading rifles were brought there by two business men and sold to the people. I think the house of Smith & Melton ordered them for the people; they brought none except to fill orders, I think.

P. J. O'Connell:

Question. What were the principles of the Democratic party, as set forth in their speeches and publications, in relation to the reconstruction laws and the State government organized under them?

Answer. Their principles were that the reconstruction acts were null and void and unconstitutional, that they recognized no such thing as the State government, and would countenance no man who associated himself with the Republican party. They regarded Governor Scott as an interloper, and questioned his authority in matters that pertained to the State government.

William P. Harris, a farmer, says:

Question. How long have you lived in Newberry county?

Answer. For the last forty years.

Question. Do you know anything about the persons who were killed?

Answer. I know that Lee Nance, Johnson Gloster, Jack Roberts, and Amos Wesley were killed because they were active Republicans; I knew of several who were turned off for voting Republican tickets, and I have heard of a great many who were whipped or turned off for intending to vote the Republican ticket.

James Henderson:

Question. How long have you lived in Newberry county?

Answer. Thirty-one years.

Question. State if you know if there was a general system of intimidation and violence practiced in Newberry county for the purpose of preventing the colored men and members of the Republican party from voting the Republican ticket.

Answer. There was.

Question. What did that consist of?

Answer. It consisted in whipping, shooting, killing, and turning them off the places.

Question. State, if you know, how many men were killed in Newberry county on account of their political opinions during the canvass.

Answer. Four, for being Republicans.

Question. How many whipped?

Answer. Three that I know of, for the same reason.

Question. How many shot?

Answer. Three shot badly that I know of; there are dozens of others that I have heard of, but these I know myself.

John R. Cochran:

Question. I was born in Anderson county; have lived there all my life; am twenty-six years old.

Question. Were you a rebel during the war, and in the rebel army?

Answer. Yes; in fourth South Carolina regiment, and wounded in first Bull Run battle.

Question. State the political condition of Anderson county during the campaign.

Answer. Very excited. Democratic clubs were organized throughout the county, and it was generally understood, and I was so told by many members of the clubs, that resolutions were passed in the clubs that no man should employ colored men who voted the Republican ticket, and there was a general system of intimidation and violence in many portions of the county; in some portions of the county men, white and colored, were whipped and shot on account of their being Republicans, to prevent them from voting Republican ticket and to prevent them from taking an active part in the campaign. Men and women have called to see me who had been whipped, their property destroyed, their children maltreated by bodies of armed men who patrolled the county at night.

John Henderson:

Question. Name, where do you live, how long have you lived there?

Answer. Maybinton, Newberry county; am twenty-three years old; lived there all my life.

Question. Were colored men allowed to vote at that precinct?

Answer. No, sir. The whites—Democrats—came to the polls armed, and would not allow a colored man to vote. About fifty-five or sixty colored men, Republicans, were present, but were not allowed to vote. I was not allowed to vote.

Question. Was there any violence throughout the campaign in Newberry?

Answer. Many men were whipped, many turned off the plantations, and three murdered.

B. F. Bates:

Question. I am fifty-two years of age; was born and raised in Spartanburg county, South Carolina; am a farmer and merchant.

Question. Were there not very many Republicans kept from the polls by threats and intimidation?

Answer. They were almost all kept away. The Ku Klux Klan had traveled all over the county for many nights previous to that day. Two colored men mysteriously disappeared a short time before the election and have never returned.

Question. To which party did you belong?

Answer. I was identified with neither party, but would have voted for A. S. Wallace, on grounds of personal friendship, but voted the Democratic ticket for reasons above stated.

G. L. Pearsons:

Question. I am twenty-four years of age, born and raised in Spartanburg county, and am a farmer.

Question. Did political feeling on the part of the Democracy run high and become bitter toward Republicans at and before the congressional and presidential election in 1868?

Answer. It did. It was very bitter and hostile.

Question. Was there such an organization as passed under the name of Ku Klux in your county?

Answer. There was; they traveled over the county, threatening and frightening Republicans.

Question. Were you yourself ever threatened by the Ku Klux?

Answer. I was. I went to Cedar Grove church, just across the river in Laurens county. They threatened me that if I ever came back they would take me out and hickory-whip me.

Question. At what precinct did you vote on the day of that election?

Answer. I did not vote. I went to Cashville precinct to vote, but from the threats that were made there that day I didn't regard it safe to vote the Republican ticket.

Question. What kind of threats were made?

Answer. Threats were made that if I voted they would Ku Klux me, and run me off the place I lived on. I lived on rented land. They afterward compelled me to give it up.

Question. Were there many men kept from voting at Cashville by these threats and intimidations?

Answer. A very great many. I know of at least ten white men and at least thirty colored men who did not vote at that precinct on account of these threats.

Question. Did the Democrats all vote?

Answer. Every one. There was no threats made against them. All could have voted if they had been willing to vote that ticket.

Question. Was there a general threat at these polls to Ku Klux all who voted the Republican ticket?

Answer. There was. Such was the general understanding.

James Perry:

Question. I am forty-one years of age; reside in Spartanburg county, South Carolina; and am a magistrate.

Question. Were the Ku Klux organization in your county, and did they travel over it previous to that election, spreading general terror wherever they went?

Answer. It was. As magistrate, I had constant complaints made before me of threats made and outrages perpetrated by them; and, as magistrate, I had threats made against me for arresting members of their organization. There were also complaints made to me of outrages committed by them in Laurens and Greenville counties. They left threats in writing, ominous signs, and even coffins, at the doors of Republicans. They also attacked the premises and fired into the houses of Republican citizens.

Dr. John N. Lindsey:

Question. I am forty years of age; reside in Spartanburg county, South Carolina, and am a farmer.

Question. What was the feeling toward Republicans in the congressional and presidential campaign in 1868 in your county?

Answer. It was very bitter and hostile.

Question. What position did you occupy at that election?

Answer. I was clerk at the Cashville district.

Question. For what ticket did you vote?

Answer. The Democratic ticket.

Question. Were Republican tickets taken from voters at the polls and torn up?

Answer. I saw one taken and torn up. When I saw that, I said, "Boys, that is wrong. Quit it."

Question. At a fair election do you not believe the Republicans would have a majority at that box?

Answer. I am satisfied they would.

Question. From your intimate knowledge of the Democratic party as a member, was it not the purpose and policy of the Democratic party in your county in that campaign to so intimidate Republicans as to keep them from voting?

Answer. It was.

Thomas C. Scott:

Question. Did you hear any of the Democratic State canvassers threaten colored men that, if they voted the Radical ticket, they should not live on their land or be employed by them in any way by members of the Democratic party?

Answer. Yes; I heard Gabriel Cannon, State canvasser, say, in addressing the colored people, that if they voted the Radical ticket they would lose their friends and wander about like Indians; get their length, two by six, and their bones would whiten the hills, as they were dependent upon us for everything—bread, employment, and sustenance; that those who professed to be their friends were not their friends, as all they wanted was to make them vote the Radical ticket, as they (the Radicals) wanted their votes, and that was all.

H. H. Foster:

Question. I am twenty-nine years of age; was raised and born in Spartanburg county, South Carolina, and am a brick-mason. I was a member of the constitutional convention.

Question. Were many Republicans maltreated throughout the county previous to that election?

Answer. There were a great many. They were

threatened if they voted the Republican ticket they would be killed, and this threat kept hundreds who did not come to the polls from coming, and many who did come from voting.

Question. Was there such an organization in your county as the Ku Klux, and did they travel all over the county?

Answer. There was; and they did, and spread terror and dismay wherever they went among Republican voters.

Question. Were you present the day that A. S. Wallace and other Republicans spoke at Spartanburg Court-House previous to that election?

Answer. I was.

Question. Did you hear the speech of Gabriel Cannon and Dr. Blake on that day?

Answer. I did.

Question. Did Mr. Cannon threaten colored voters if they voted the Republican ticket?

Answer. He did. He said, "We own the lands; you live on them; you eat our bread and meat; and if you vote for our enemies, the Radicals, you will get your earth, two by six; you will go like the Indians, and your bones will whiten our hill-sides." Dr. Blake's speech was still more threatening. They blocked up the passage by a lawless mob, who were shouting and denouncing Republicans, until we heard these speeches.

Question. Were the speeches of Democratic speakers generally of this threatening tone?

Answer. They were.

Question. Where did you vote at that election?

Answer. At Spartanburg Court-House. I was one of a crowd of eleven who started to vote the Republican ticket, with tickets in our hands, and I was the only one who got voting that ticket. The others were turned back and some of them compelled to vote the Democratic ticket. The crowd that blocked up the way to the polls was threatening and menacing; so much so that Republicans were afraid to pass through it.

Question. Did you hear S. Strobo Farren, chairman of the Democratic club, say they intended to carry the election, no matter for law, order, or anything else?

Answer. I did; and I heard him boast afterward that they had carried the election, and some one replied, "You did not do it by fair means." He said, "I know we did not, but we carried it anyhow."

C. C. Baker:

Question. I am thirty years of age; reside in Union county, South Carolina; I am a gold miner; there were a great many Winchester carbines brought into that county.

Question. Was there such an organization as the Ku Klux Klan in your county at that time?

Answer. I did not see them myself, but the general reputation was that such an organization did exist for the purpose of intimidating Republicans.

Question. Were you yourself threatened?

Answer. I was. I was told that if I went in with the negro party, meaning the Republican party, I could not live there.

Question. Was your acquaintance extensive in Union, Spartanburg, and York counties?

Answer. It was. I was passing and repassing all through these counties hunting gold mines.

Question. Was the intimidation general throughout these counties?

Answer. It was. It amounted to terrorism.

Question. Was the condition such as to prevent a fair and full vote?

Answer. It was. The negroes working for me, eight in number, except one man, were afraid to go and vote. This one man walked thirteen miles in order to get a vote.

Question. Did you vote yourself?

Answer. I did. I voted the Democratic ticket, against my own convictions, because I did not regard it safe or politic for me to vote the Republican ticket.

Question. Were you an officer in the Federal Army?

Answer. I was; and served throughout the entire war, and was wounded seven times. I was a brevet major general at the close of the war.

John Bates:

I, myself, and thirteen others were fired upon and wounded at Sautuck Depot, in Union county, by a mob of Democrats, without any provocation, and forced to fly to Columbia for protection.

Question. Were the Union Leagues broken up by Democrats in the fall of 1868 in your county?

Answer. They were.

Question. Did armed bands of Ku Klux patrol your county?

Answer. They did, and threatened all Republicans. They came to my house disguised, drew their arms upon me, and swore they would kill me. After they left my house I heard a shot fired by them at a colored man by the name of Henry Jeter, who was wounded by them. I saw the wound the next morning.

Question. Were colored Republicans generally intimidated and threatened in that campaign?

Answer. They were; they were afraid to go out of their houses, and were not permitted to keep a light in their house at night.

Question. At what precinct did you vote at that election?

Answer. I did not vote. I went to Sautuck precinct to vote, but they would not allow me; they did not even permit me to approach the polls, and swore that if I did they would shoot me down. I then left and went to Union precinct, with a great many others, some eleven miles. They refused our votes there; they said there were too many Radical tickets voted already; that they would let us vote if we voted the Democratic ticket.

Question. Were there many colored Republicans who were prevented from voting at Union precinct when the polls closed?

Answer. There were, several hundred.

J. A. Walker:

I am twenty-four years of age; was born and raised in Union county, South Carolina; am a schoolmaster and magistrate. The life of no Republican was safe. I was often insulted, and finally discharged for my adherence to the Republican party.

Question. Did the Democrats carry arms to the polls and threaten to use them?

Answer. They did. They came in, two and three at a time, with Winchester rifles swung on their shoulders, with pistols in their belts, and cartridge-boxes on their backs, threatening to kill any man who voted against them.

Question. Was there such an organization in your county as the Ku Klux, who went over the county previous to this election, disguised and armed, at night, and threatened to kill all who voted the Republican ticket?

Answer. There was. They came within five hundred yards of my house the night before the election, who inquired for Aleck Walker and J. S. Mohley, and said they would kill them before morning. I was lying in ambush and heard them.

Question. Was that Ku Klux organization general throughout the county?

Answer. From my own personal knowledge, and from most reliable information, I would say it was.

Question. Were not a number of Winchester rifles brought there before the election and distributed among the Democrats?

Answer. There were, and they are there yet, and were freely used by the Democrats on that day.

Question. What was the feeling of the Democratic party of Union county in reference to reconstruction?

Answer. It was very bitter and hostile. They bitterly denounced the United States Government, the government of the State, and were utterly opposed to the colored men having any rights whatever.

Jesse J. Mobry sworn:

Question. How long have you resided in Union county?

Answer. All my life.

Question. Have you been acquainted with the con-

dition of political affairs in your county for some years past?

Answer. I have. I was appointed a register under the military authorities in 1867, and have been engaged in registering voters and managing elections at different times whenever elections occurred up to the present time. I was a manager of election at Goudeysville precinct at the election for President and members of Congress on 3d day of November, 1868.

Question. By whom were these threats made?

Answer. By members of the Democratic party. They threatened repeatedly to kill every man who voted the Republican ticket, and to drive them off the lands which they occupied, and to run them out of the country. I heard one man say publicly that he would at any time join a party to go to a Republican's house and kill him and burn up everything he had. This was said in the crowd on the day of the election, and he was publicly applauded by the Democrats.

Question. Was there an organization in your county known as the Ku Klux Klan?

Answer. It was generally understood that there was such an organization, and many outrages were committed on Republicans by men in disguise riding after night, who claimed to be members of that organization. Five persons, all of whom were Republicans, were murdered within my knowledge; three shot and two hanged. A sixth man had his throat cut so that he died at once. Another Republican was caught by such a party of men in disguise, tied hand and foot and thrown into the river, but in struggling he broke the rope and swam out. Several other Republicans were taken from their homes and whipped and beaten. These outrages were notorious, and believed all over the county. I am satisfied that it was done by members of the Democratic party for the purpose of intimidating and frightening Republicans and preventing them from voting at the election for President and member of Congress.

Question. What had been the political position of the leaders of the Democratic party in your county for some years previous?

Answer. They all were prominent secessionists in 1860, and all were actively engaged in the rebellion, and since the war have been bitter enemies of the United States Government and actively opposed to the reorganization of the State government under the reconstruction laws.

Jed. P. Porter sworn:

Question. How long have you lived in Union county?

Answer. All my life. I heard many threats of violence made by Democrats against Republicans. I heard an organization called the Ku Klux Klan spoken of. A short time before the election a freedman who lived in my neighborhood informed me that a coffin had been left in the shop where he worked, with a notice that if he did not leave the country at once he would be killed for being a Radical. I am satisfied it was true, and the freedman left at once for Columbia.

Question. What position did you occupy about the time of the election?

Answer. I was appointed manager at the Going's precinct. On the day previous to the election on November 3, 1868, I went to Union Court-House for the Republican tickets for that precinct; I got the tickets and was preparing to start home, when a man came up and asked to see the tickets; he refused to give them back and walked away with them; my brother-in-law, who was a Democrat, came to me and advised me to leave, saying that if I did not leave I would be killed; I then went round in the rear of a lot where some freedman brought my horse, and I started home accompanied by my brother; I had gone near four miles when a crowd of eight Democrats came up rapidly, cursing me for being a Radical and jerked me off my horse; the fall bruised my face and cut it severely; they kicked and beat me while I was on the ground until my face and clothes were covered with blood. I then mounted my horse and started on home. Some of the crowd

still followed me; about nine miles from town they made another attack on me, and pulled me off my horse, saying they were going to kill me for being a Radical; they then kicked and knocked me down and beat me until I became unconscious, and they left me for dead. The last I recollect was one man saying, "Get out the way, and let me kill him with a rail;" some one replied, "No, he is dead already." When I became conscious they all had gone, and I do not know how long I lay there. A man came along the road and helped me to get on my horse and went home with me. For twelve days I was not able to move without help, and my life was despaired of by my physician. These parties had no cause of offense with me whatever, except that I was a Republican; one of them was a brother-in-law.

Question. Were these parties indicted in the State courts?

Answer. Yes; I indicted them in the court and proved it by half a dozen witnesses and swore to the facts myself, but the grand jury, composed of Democrats, refused to find a true bill against the parties who made the attack.

John R. Farries:

I am a resident of York county, South Carolina; was born and raised there. A number of them have already been outraged; three of them desperately whipped; one of them had his house and all his furniture and provisions burned.

John W. Meade:

Question. What is your name, age, and occupation?

Answer. John Wesley Meade; thirty-eight years of age; reside at Rock Hill, York county; a carriage-maker.

Question. How long have you resided in York county?

Answer. About ten years.

Question. What acts of violence were committed, and by whom?

Answer. A party of men disguised, calling themselves the Ku Klux, went by night all around the county leaving coffins at doors of Republicans and putting them upon trees; and on one occasion they attacked the house of a well-known Republican, breaking down the door and shooting into the house, and when assistance came they went hurriedly away. Similar reports were brought to me daily from different parts of the county. The Republicans, generally, were so intimidated and frightened that they were afraid of being attacked, both day and night. On one occasion a party of men disguised rode around my house, and was afterward told that they were the Ku Klux Klan. The party spoken of above, who made the attack on the house, were inquiring for a prominent Republican, declaring that they intended to kill him and put a stop to his League meetings.

Griffin Johnson:

Question. Was any attack made on your house?

Answer. There was none made on my house, but my brother-in-law's house was attacked (it was about seventy-five yards from my house) by three men, who called my brother-in-law out and asked for a drink of water, which he gave them, and they asked him if he knew them. He replied, "I know one of you." They drank and rode off about fifty yards, and returned and called him out again, and said to him, "Come to the fence," which he did, when they commenced to take out their pistols, and he became alarmed and ran in the house. They then commenced firing at him, and shot his wife (who was standing in the door of the house) through the thigh. I saw the ball extracted from the wound by the surgeons. I understand the party was hunting for me, and did not intend to shoot my brother-in-law or his wife.

J. H. White:

Question. How long have you resided in York county?

Answer. About forty years.

Question. Did bands of men in disguise patrol the county, threatening and intimidating Republican voters?

Answer. They did; they rode over all sections of

the county, visiting the houses of Republicans, shooting into the houses, breaking down doors, and threatening them if they went to the polls the next day they should be murdered.

Question. Did you ever hear of these disguised bands going to the house of a Democrat?

Answer. Only to hold their meetings, or to assemble.

Question. Did you hear of any house being burned by these parties?

Answer. The day after the election a man living near Hickory Grove went with me to a magistrate and made a complaint that a party of men in disguise came to his house on the night before the election and told him if he attempted to go out and vote the Republican ticket they would kill him before he would get back. He did go to the election, and took his wife with him, and on his return found that his house had been fired in his absence, and everything he had in the world burned up. He tracked the parties away from his house and across the field. They all appeared to be wearing boots.

Nelson Hammond:

I am twenty-seven years of age; Nelson Hammond, Yorkville; and occupation keeper of a confectionery store.

Question. Did bands of men patrol the county disguised, ride around, and, if so, what did they do?

Answer. Yes, they rode everywhere in the county, firing off guns, visiting houses, threatening men that if they went to the polls they should be killed, and left images of coffins marked "K. K. K." on doors and on houses, and otherwise frightening and intimidating Republicans. I never heard of any Democrats being disturbed.

Johnson Wright:

Question. State your age, residence, and occupation.

Answer. I am about thirty-eight years of age; live in Oconee county; and am a carpenter.

Question. What was the feeling of the Democratic party toward Republicans in the campaign of 1868?

Answer. It was hostile and threatening all over the county. I am well acquainted all over the county.

Question. Were threats made against Republicans, and what was their nature?

Answer. There were threats made against the persons of Republicans, and also threats that every man who voted the Republican ticket would be turned off and left to starve.

Question. Was it generally understood that the Ku Klux traveled all over your county?

Answer. It was. They spread terror all over the county.

Alexander Bryce, jr.:

I am thirty-four years of age, and am a merchant; and at the time of the presidential and congressional election in 1868, was a deputy State constable.

I received a notice on the morning of November 1, 1868, through the post office, signed "K. K. K.," which informed me that I should have three hours to leave the town, and that if I did not go I would be six feet under ground. I found also another notice stuck up at the public well in Walhalla. And on the evening of the same day I received a written notice, dated November 7, but received by me on the evening of the 1st.

Question. What, in your opinion, was the object of the notice?

Answer. It was to get me out at night, so that they could assassinate me.

J. P. Cooper, farmer:

Question. How long have you resided in Pickens county?

Answer. Twenty-three years.

Question. Were you in Pickens county previous to and during the election for President and Vice President, held on the 3d November, 1868?

Answer. I was.

Question. Were there any means used by organized parties to intimidate Republicans and keep them from voting at the election for member of Congress,

at the election held on the 3d November, 1863? If so, state what they were.

Answer. There was: armed bands rode about through the county at night for some time previous to the election; it was done every night for over a week.

Question. Could Republicans vote without molestation or annoyance at that precinct, on the day of election, for member of Congress, President, and Vice President?

Answer. No, they could not; outside parties opened the tickets and took down the names of all persons who voted the Republican ticket; these parties were appointed by Democratic clubs, who also gave certificates to all who voted the Democratic ticket, so that they might get employment or rent land.

The Ku Klux are hostile to preachers, the natural leaders of a religious people.

Sancho Sanders:

Question. State your name, residence, and occupation.

Answer. Sancho Sanders: Chester county; minister of the gospel of the Baptist church.

Question. Were any threats made against yourself?

Answer. Yes, sir; they threatened to shoot me.

Question. For what reason did they threaten to shoot you?

(Objected to.)

Answer. Because I had influenced the people to vote the Republican ticket.

Question. Did parties of men ride over the county threatening violence to citizens?

Answer. A party calling themselves Ku Klux went through my neighborhood, threatening to kill them that would not agree to vote the Democratic ticket, but they did not do it.

Wilson Cook:

Question. How long have you resided in Greenville county?

Answer. For thirty-odd years.

Question. Were you in Greenville county during the months of October and November, 1863?

Answer. I was.

Question. Was there any political excitement in Greenville county during that time?

Answer. There was.

Question. Were any measures resorted to to intimidate voters; and if so, by whom, and against whom? (Objected to; leading.)

Answer. There were, by the Democratic party to the Republicans.

Question. What were those measures?

Answer. Threats that if they voted the Republican ticket they would be turned away from the homes which they occupied as employees. Also, on the night before the election, Rev. Mr. Lenderman's house was attacked and fired into, about eight miles below the court-house. Mr. Lenderman was a Campbellite preacher; was known as a man of high reputation by white and colored all over the county; he was known before the war, during and since the war, as a strong Union man, but not believing in extremes either way. I am satisfied that there were from four to five hundred colored voters that would have voted the Republican ticket, if they had been allowed to vote at all, that did not vote.

GEORGIA.

General Howard's report, 1868:

"Numerous outrages have been perpetrated upon freed people in this State, some of them remarkable for atrocity. Louisville, Jefferson county, in November, a mob arrested a colored man and, binding him to a stake, piled fagots about him and actually burned him alive. In other instances, freedmen have been tied up and whipped and their houses and property burned. In the majority of cases the civil authorities have failed to punish the criminals."

General Howard's report, 1869:

"In many parts of the State there is practically no government. The worst of crimes are committed,

and no attempt is made to punish those who commit them. Murders have been and are frequent; the abuse in various ways of the blacks is too common to excite notice. There can be no doubt of the existence of numerous insurrectionary organizations known as 'Ku Klux Klans,' who, shielded by their disguise, by the secrecy of their movements, and by the terror which they inspire, perpetrate crime with impunity. There is great reason to believe that in some cases local magistrates are in sympathy with the members of these organizations. In many places they are overawed by them and dare not attempt to punish them. To punish such offenders by civil proceedings would be a difficult task, even were magistrates in all cases disposed and had they the courage to do their duty, for the same influences which govern them equally affect juries and witnesses. A conversation which I had with a wealthy planter, a gentleman of intelligence and education, and a political opponent of the present national Administration, will illustrate this difficulty. While deploring the lamentable condition of affairs in the county in which he lives, he frankly admitted to me that, were the most worthless vagabonds in the county to be charged with a crime against the person of a Republican or a negro, neither he nor any other person of property within the county would dare to refuse to give bail for the offender, nor would they dare to testify against him, whatever might be their knowledge of his guilt."

We have several volumes of testimony, showing the presence and proceedings of the Klan in Georgia, by which they carried the congressional and presidential election, compelling twenty thousand electors to remain absent from the polls or vote the Democratic ticket. Whole counties having a Republican majority failed to cast a single vote for Grant, and in others the Republican vote was reduced to a small fraction of what it had been.

FLORIDA.

Even this flowery peninsula, pointing like the finger of destiny to the islands of the Gulf, is not free from Ku Klux. The protection of the national Army has been required, and may be again. The freedmen are more independent than elsewhere, as under the management of General Howard many of them have homesteads. But the same elements of discord are there as in all other States, and will produce like effects.

ALABAMA.

General Howard, in his report for 1868, says:

"Cases of violent outrage upon freed people have not been very frequently reported, though the organization known as the 'Ku Klux Klan' have abused colored men in some sections of the State."

And General Terry, in his report for 1869, says:

"From southern Alabama I learn of but little trouble. The middle and northern parts of the State, however, are in a very disturbed condition. In many localities life and property are very insecure. Crimes are frequent, and the civil authorities are utterly powerless to prevent or punish them, or are careless of their duties, as will be seen from the list of detachments which I have given above. Military aid has been given for the preservation of the peace in these parts of the State in many instances; in no case has an application for it been refused. It is believed that uniformly the presence of troops in the disturbed sections has been attended with happy results."

She is considered one of the best reconstructed States. The work was done under General Wager Swayne, of Ohio, a man worthy of his distinguished father. We had hoped for quiet here. But murders are committed with impunity, even upon United States officers. It was in Alabama that the Ku Klux killed a route agent in his mail car, and the Governor, while he boasts of the condition of the State, acknowledges that the Ku Klux Klan has been organized there. Lacking employment at home, they overrun Mississippi—

Mr. BUCKLEY. There are eight thousand in our State.

Mr. STEVENSON. And that may prove but a beginning, unless we make an end of it.

MISSISSIPPI.

The continued presence of national troops kept the Ku Klux Klan in abeyance in Mississippi. The Secretary of War, in his annual report for 1869, said of that State:

"The employment of troops beyond the ordinary routine of duty has been confined to expeditions for the purpose of arresting lawless characters guilty of murder or other serious offenses. Supported by public opinion, a few men, in defiance of the law, commit murders and outrages, and civil officers are unequal to the task of bringing them to justice. Guarded and protected by their neighbors, their arrest becomes very difficult, and the assistance of troops is demanded. The parties injured or their friends rarely undertake to aid the civil or military authorities, and, if so, hesitatingly and secretly."

And since the military has been withdrawn the ferment has begun. The Governor lately boasted of the condition of the State; but he has been compelled to ask the Legislature for extraordinary powers to raise a regiment of cavalry, of picked men, to pursue and arrest the masked assassins, the cost of force and rewards for the apprehension of Ku Klux to be paid by the county in which the outrage occurs. This is one of the most radical propositions. It is like one for which that Radical of Radicals [Mr. BUTLER, of Massachusetts,] has been cursed by Democrats. It remains to be seen whether Governor Alcorn will meet the fate of Governor STEVENSON, whose recommendations were despised, or that of Governor Holden, whose vigorous action has been avenged by impeachment.

ARKANSAS.

General Howard said in 1868:

"The administration of justice by the civil authorities has been far from effective. Lawless violence and ruffianism have prevailed to an alarming extent. Three churches belonging to freedmen in Washita county were burned by parties unknown on the night of April 4, 1868. The assistant commissioner attributes this wanton act to the bitter feelings aroused by the part the freedmen had taken in the then recent election, and states that similar deeds are not uncommon. 'The Ku Klux Klan serve their mysterious notices and make their midnight rounds in different parts of the State. Every precaution has been taken with the forces at hand. Troops were stationed at twenty-four different points in the State; but even this distribution has failed to check the evil. The

civil law in this State, so far as the punishment of crime is concerned, exists only in name."

"On the night of May 16 a freedmen's church and school-house (not erected by Government aid) in Mississippi county was burned by incendiaries."

The military arm has been vigorously used by the State authorities and there has been marked improvement, yet the elements of disorder are not conquered. They only await a favorable opportunity, and the loyal people may need national protection.

LOUISIANA.

It was in New Orleans that opposition to reconstruction broke out in the massacre of the constitutional convention, and Louisiana has been one of the bloodiest of the reconstructed States. In 1868 General Howard said:

"The condition of society in the more remote and sparsely settled parishes is greatly disorganized. In some sections the treatment of the colored people has been deplorable. Outrage and crimes of every description have been perpetrated upon them with impunity. In these sections the character of the local magistracy is not as high as could be desired, and many of them have connived at the escape of offenders, while some have even participated in the outrages. In other sections lawless ruffians have overawed the civil authorities, 'vigilance committees' and 'Ku Klux Klans,' disguised, by night, have burned the dwellings and shed the blood of unoffending freedmen. In many cases of brutal murder brought before the civil authorities verdicts of justifiable homicide in self-defense have been rendered."

After this was written the most horrible riots occurred.

This House sent a committee to Louisiana in 1869, of which I had the honor to be chairman. Here is the testimony in two volumes, fifteen hundred pages. It exhibits a condition of society without parallel out of Paris. The Ku Klux were organized under the name of "The Knights of the White Camelia." The testimony contains long lists of murders and other outrages ascertained, but it was impossible to prove all, and much that is known was discovered accidentally, as when a witness passing through the forest on the Teche saw a cloud of buzzards above him, and came upon a half-covered pile of dead, their limbs protruding on every side so that he counted over twenty corpses, part of the victims of the St. Landry massacres, in which it is estimated that over two hundred negroes—one tenth of the Republican poll of the parish—were slain in a campaign of two days conducted under regular orders from the commander of "The Knights of the White Camelia," the Louisiana Ku Klux.

This riot grew out of an assault upon Emerson Bentley, an Ohio boy, from Columbiana county, who was teaching school in Opelousas and editing a Republican paper. He was attacked in his school-room among the children, revolvers were leveled on him while he was brutally beaten and warned away. The Ku Klux, apprehending resistance by the negroes,

dispatched couriers to all parts of the parish and gathered their clans, who rallied to Opelousas in arms, killing as they came.

The only attempt at self-defense by the negroes was feeble and timid, and resulted in the wounding of one white man, the killing of a number of negroes, and the capture of thirteen. These were lodged by their captors in the parish jail to await judgment by the council of the Ku Klux Klan; and at night, between the two days of massacre, these thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot. All white Republican leaders who survived were driven from the parish, and a number of German Republicans kept away from the polls; and two thousand colored Republicans were taken as captives of war, marked with badges of red flannel on their arms, enrolled in Democratic clubs with white rebel officers, led to the ballot-box, and compelled to vote for their enemies, the murderers of their brethren, and then furnished with "protection papers" certifying the fact that they had voted the "Democratic ticket." In this parish, where before the riot the Republicans had a majority of registered voters, not one ballot was cast for Grant or any Republican candidate. So deep and lasting was the impression made by this massacre that a year afterward it was requisite to keep national troops at Opelousas.

On the Red river, above Shreveport, an Arkansas Democrat, passing an old man's house, inquired if there were any Radicals there. A lad answered "Yes, there's one," pointing to an old man sitting by the door; when the white man raised his rifle and shot the old negro dead. Thereupon the colored people pursued the assassin, took him, and were holding him for delivery to justice, when the whites gathered in overwhelming force and the slaughter began. No white men were injured, but the number of negroes killed can never be known. They fled in every direction and were hunted as beasts of the chase through wood and swamp by bands of armed men who could not tell, if they would, how many they slew. We only know that scores were killed and many wounded, many missing who have never been heard from. Long after the riot was over bodies were found floating in the river; in one instance, several tied together by ropes run through their pierced hands; and, again, a dead woman with a dead child.

In the parish of St. Mary, where the officers were Republicans, the Ku Klux assassinated the sheriff and the judge, who were Republicans, and having thus terrorized the parish, they quelled all opposition. No living man except the perpetrators saw the deed. A witness says:

"The assassination took place on a Saturday night or a Sunday morning. I went up to Franklin, the parish seat, and when I got there I found that the body of Judge Chase was laid out in the court-house. It lay there with a blanket thrown over it. It seems

that he had been shot in the forehead. It is said that there was a wound in the back, where he was apparently stabbed. The body was found near the bayou, below the hotel, lying on the ground, and was taken from there about three or four o'clock in the morning. Some persons said that about the time of the assassination they heard shots fired, and there seemed to have been a good many shots fired close together. The expression was that they sounded like a bunch of fire-crackers going off together. That was almost eight o'clock in the evening. Judge Chase had the reputation of being a prominent Republican leader. Colonel Pope was killed the same night. He had been elected sheriff of the parish of St. Mary by the Republicans. I saw his body. He was killed about the same time and about the same place, only that he was killed in his room, while Judge Chase is supposed to have ran and to have fallen when he got near the bayou."

This double murder was caused in part by violent articles published in the Democratic organ of the parish, the Planters' Banner. Daniel Dennett, the editor, author of those publications, a native of northern New England, went South before the war as a peddler, became a teacher, married a lady with property in lands and slaves, became a planter and an editor, and when the war came, and ever since, proved his fealty to the South by abuse of northern men.

The day before the assassination the following article appeared in his paper:

"The recent disasters of the Radicals in St. Landry, and the dwindling of Loyal League clubs in the parish, have had a terrible effect on that little rat, Pope. He looks on the streets as though he had been chewed up by a terrier. He has a complication of diseases—his liver don't act, he has the colic, the toothache, and the yellow jaundice, and don't feel very well himself. If he dies, the shell of an English walnut would make a good sarcophagus in which to convey his precious remains to his northern friends; or, if he is to be buried on southern soil, as he has no 'forty acres' of his own in which to be buried, he should be put in a pair of oyster shells, and buried at low-water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows twice in twenty-four hours."

In the next issue, after the assassination, the following appeared:

Extracts from Planters' Banner of October 24, 1868.

"Were they Ku Kluxes.—Some of our citizens believe, and not without very good cause, that a club of Ku Kluxes has lately been established in this parish, or the parish of St. Martin, and that the terrible event of last Saturday night was their first blow struck in this section of the State."

Assassinated.—Last Saturday at night, about half past eight o'clock, Henry Pope, Radical sheriff of this parish, and Valentine Chase, Radical parish judge, were assassinated at O'Neil's hotel by parties unknown.

"We were in Smith's store, corner of Odd Fellow's Hall, when the first reports of the pistols were heard. Walking rapidly toward the hotel we halted in front of Healy's coffee-house when the last shots were fired, ten or fifteen in all. Twelve or fourteen persons had rushed out of the coffee-house at the first alarm and were listening to the firing."

"As soon as the firing was over there was a solemn pause in the crowd and around the hotel. Inquiries ran rapidly from man to man in regard to the cause of the shooting, and who was shot, and all present appeared to be profoundly ignorant of the nature of the difficulty, and so many shots were fired that the idea suggested itself that it was a serious fight between parties at the hotel. Several parties cautiously proceeded to O'Neil's front gallery to inquire

about the cause and results of the firing, but could learn nothing there, as all in the house were attracted toward the rear, where the firing occurred, and those who went to inquire returned to Healy's, not knowing but that it might be a fight instead of an assassination, and that the trouble might not yet be over. In fact, so many shots were fired that it justified the belief that it was a fight."

"In a short time, however, the news came that Mr. Pope, the Radical sheriff, was shot and killed, and that the assassins, being thoroughly disguised, had made their escape. As soon as the firing commenced all in the hotel fled to their rooms for safety and to go out of the way of danger, which gave the assassins ample leisure for escape. Mrs. Pope had just stepped to Mrs. O'Neil's room as the firing commenced. Mr. O'Neil was in the room at the time attending to his wife, who was sick. Upon the first report of the pistols on the gallery, near by, Mr. O'Neil closed his room door to protect his wife and children and Mrs. Pope from harm, not knowing the cause of the firing."

"Mr. Pope was on the gallery when the firing commenced, and quickly retreated to his room, where the shooting stopped, and where he expired."

"We saw nothing of the assassins except one, who passed by the crowd in front of Healy's with a six-shooter in his hand, so thoroughly disguised that no person could possibly recognize him. He was about of medium height and size. It is reported that those engaged in the homicide mounted horses near the court-house and galloped down the road."

"A Loyal League club was holding its weekly meeting at the negro church at the time the shooting was heard, but the members quickly retired to their homes when they heard the melancholy news of the tragedy."

"A strong police was immediately organized, and the town and vicinity were amply protected against disorder during the night."

"After midnight the patrol stumbled over what appeared to be a dead man, between the hotel and the bayou. A physician was called, and it proved to be the body of Valentine Chase, Radical parish judge, and upon examination life was found to be extinct. A guard was put over the body till morning, when a coroner's inquest was held over the two bodies, but no traces could be discovered in regard to the perpetrators of the two assassinations."

"There is some speculation in the community in regard to who committed the homicides, but it thus far has been idle speculation. They have guessed that it was strangers from New Orleans and from other places, and some negroes have stated that they could put their finger upon the men who did it; but upon investigation they find these statements to be utterly false and unfounded."

"We have no idea of the real perpetrators of the crime, but from appearances we conclude that it must have been so well planned and so completely executed as to defy investigation."

This event so terrified the Republicans of St. Mary that they feared to have the funeral in that parish, and took the bodies to New Orleans. And there, as the hearse and procession passed along the streets, the rabble taunted and jeered, saying, "There go two more carpet-baggers."

The Governor appointed a new sheriff for the parish, and he was greeted by the following notice from the Planters' Banner, November 14, 1868:

"Another Wolf.—After we had written our peace articles this week, congratulating the people of St. Mary on the prospects of peace and quiet in all our borders, another wolf made his appearance in our fold. A Mr. Mentz, of Indiana, appointed the successor of Colonel Pope, as sheriff of the parish, insists on acting as sheriff in spite of the protests of the people; so it looks as if there is more trouble

ahead. If Mr. Mentz thrusts himself upon a people who have given him proofs that neither the white people nor the negroes want him here, we shall through the columns of the Banner expose his miserable, rickety character."

"We were posted by respectable men in New Orleans in regard to the character he bears where he is best known."

Finding that he could protect no person, but was himself in hourly peril of assassination, he left the parish.

The spirit of Daniel Dennett is exhibited in the article which he wrote and published in the Planters' Banner of August 15, 1868:

"Thad. Stevens is dead.—The prayers of the righteous have at last removed the congressional curse! May old BROWNLOW, BUTLER, and all such political monstrosities follow the example of their illustrious predecessor! May his new iron-works wear him from earth, and the fires of his new furnace never go out! The devil will get on a big 'bender' now. With Thad. Stevens in his cabinet and BUTLER in Washington, he can manage things in both kingdoms to his liking. Lucky devil!"

Mr. Speaker, this example shows how far a northern man must go when he panders to the South. It should be a warning to statesmen entering that downward way which has led to destruction so many brilliant, ambitious men. The entrance is under a graceful arch of honor, festooned with flowers of flattery and labeled in gilded letters "Conciliation." He who passes within must leave his better judgment and conscience behind and is seldom seen again among patriots.

Yet Daniel Dennett hath his reward; his paper is indorsed by the leading men of his parish, and is one of the most influential journals in Louisiana. To such sheets, more than to any other single cause, the condition of the South is due; and upon the heads of such editors is the blood of thousands of innocent men.

Another riot occurred in the parish of St. Bernard, below New Orleans, in which the worst characters of that city participated. And in the city of New Orleans several bloody scenes were enacted, in which defenseless colored men were murdered. Masses of Democrats, "Knights of the White Camellia," firing rifles and revolvers into processions of Republicans; gangs of assassins hunting and chasing negroes through the public streets by day and night, and shooting them on sight, so that in many quarters for days together it was death for a man of color to appear.

General Edward Hatch says:

Question. How would the list of wounded compare with the killed?

Answer. I think the wounded would bear a very small proportion to the killed. I will give you an instance: in front of my boarding-house, corner of St. Andrew's and Coliseum streets, I saw some men kill a negro; they wounded him two or three times, and finally finished him. It was done in the presence of ladies. There were no arrests made, and nothing done in the matter. It is very seldom a negro is simply wounded. If he is hit at all he is finished. When a negro made himself obnoxious enough to engender attack he was generally killed.

If they made up their minds to injure a negro they made up their minds to kill him.

Question. Do you recognize this report?

Report of Brevet Major General Hatch, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Killed.....	297
Wounded by gun-shot.....	50
Maltreated.....	142
Total.....	489

Answer. Yes, sir; these are less than the numbers. No case was reported unless it was thoroughly investigated and substantiated. We reported sixteen killed at St. Landry. This was considered an exaggeration by General Kousseau, who sent his inspector, Captain Hooker, down to investigate matters, and Captain Hooker reported five times as many killed as I did.

Question. What color were the two hundred and ninety-seven killed and fifty wounded included in this report?

Answer. Black.

Question. What period of time does that report embrace?

Answer. Probably one month.

Question. For the whole State?

Answer. No, sir; just the parishes adjacent to New Orleans.

The whole State was overawed by intimidation and fear, while more than half the parishes were overrun by Ku Klux or Knights of the White Camelia. It is in testimony that a majority of the Democrats were members, estimation varying from fifty to one hundred thousand. It was a secret, armed, political society. The proof shows that in several parishes it was the only Democratic organization. The following extracts are taken from the ritual, as produced and verified by an officer of the order:

Ritual of the Knights of the White Camelia.

Preamble.—There is a fact which stands beyond denial; it is that the Radical party, the freedmen, and the colored population of the whole Republic have coalesced against us, the white race. However liberal our intentions may have been toward the colored class, this coalition has placed us in a condition no longer to countenance a policy of fusion and mutual concessions.

Their unjust and unreasonable opposition forces us, upon the ground of an absolute necessity, to similar measures of resistance. Let it therefore be recognized as a constant fact that from the colored population and from the Radical faction, to which it has allied itself, have sprung the first of inimical measures which have divided into two hostile camps the races which inhabit the American Republic.

The Manner of Initiation.—The candidate is introduced in the ante-room, where the conductor shall administer to him the following oath:

"I, A. B. do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will true and faithful answers make to all questions which may be propounded to me, and that if, in the course of the proceedings which are about to take place, anything contrary to my views, feelings, and principles should induce me to forego the purpose of joining this association, I will always be under the most sacred obligation never to reveal or cause to come to the knowledge of any one, either by word, writing, sign, inference, or in any other manner make known what I may see, hear, understand, or suspect, within this building, or in any other place, concerning this association. And if I were ever to violate this oath, I now consent to become an object of scorn to all men, and I acknowledge to have deserved the just hatred and revenge of all the members of this association."

The candidate is then blindfolded by the conductor, who raps twice at the council door.

The lieutenant commander opens, when, between him and the conductor standing on the threshold of the door and holding the candidate by the hand, the following dialogue takes place:

Lieutenant Commander. Who comes there?

Conductor. A son of your race.

Lieutenant Commander. What does he wish?

Conductor. Peace and order, the maintenance of the laws of God, the maintenance of the laws and Constitution established by the patriots of 1776.

Lieutenant Commander. To obtain this, what must be done?

Conductor. The cause of our race must triumph.

Lieutenant Commander. And to make it triumph, what must we do?

Conductor. We must be united as the flowers that grow on the same stem are united, and, under all circumstances, band ourselves together as brethren.

Lieutenant Commander. Will he join us?

Conductor. He is prepared to answer for himself, and under oath.

Lieutenant Commander. Let him enter.

The commander will then propound the following questions to the candidate, each of which the latter will answer in the affirmative:

[Should the candidate fail to answer any of these questions satisfactorily, no further questions will be put to him, and he shall be immediately made to retire blindfolded and dismissed by the conductor.]

Questions.—1. Are you free? 2. Do you belong to the white or Caucasian race? 3. Does your wife, also, if you are married, or, if she be now dead, did she belong to the white or Caucasian race? 4. Do you promise never to marry any woman but one who belongs to the white or Caucasian race? 5. Do you believe in the superiority of your race? 6. Will you promise never to vote for any one for any office of honor or profit who does not belong to your race? 7. Are you opposed to allowing the control of the political affairs of this county to go, in whole or in part, into the hands of the negro or African race, and will you do everything in your power to prevent this? 8. Will you devote all your intelligence, energy, and influence to the furtherance and propagation of these principles? 9. Will you, in all circumstances, defend and protect persons of the white or Caucasian race in their lives, property, and dominion, against all encroachments or invasions from any inferior race, and especially the African race? 10. Are you willing to take an oath forever to cherish these grand principles, and to unite yourself with others who, like you, believing in their truth, have firmly bound themselves to stand by and defend them against all?

The Commander. If you consent to belong to our association raise your right hand, and I will administer to you the oath which we have all taken.

Oath.—I, A. B. do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, never to reveal without authority the existence of this order, of its object, of its acts, of its signs of recognition; never to reveal or publish, in any manner whatsoever, what I shall see or hear in this circle; never to divulge the names of the members of the order, or their acts done in connection therewith. I swear to maintain and defend the social and political superiority of the white race on this continent; always and in all places to observe a marked distinction between the white and African races; to vote for none but white men for any office of honor or profit; to devote all my intelligence, energy, and influence to instill these principles in the minds and hearts of others; and to protect and defend persons of the white or Caucasian race in their lives and property against the encroachments and aggressions of persons of an inferior race. I swear, moreover, to unite myself, in heart, soul, and body, with those who compose this order; to aid, protect, and defend them in all places; to obey the orders of those who, by our statutes, will have the right of giving those orders; to respond, at the peril of my life, to a call, a sign, or a cry coming from any fellow-member, and to do everything in my power to assist him through life. So help me God.

The blindfold is now removed from the new brother and the commander will deliver to him the following:

Charge.—[This charge should, whenever practicable, be committed to memory, so as to be delivered without reading from the book. Should there be but one person initiated, the singular should be substituted for the plural number used, whenever required.] Brothers: You have been initiated into one of the most important orders which have ever been established on this continent, an order which, if its principles are faithfully observed and its objects diligently carried out, is destined to regenerate our unfortunate country and to relieve the white race from the humiliating condition to which it has lately been reduced in this Republic. It is necessary, therefore, that, before taking part in the labors of this association, you should understand fully its principles and objects, and the duties which devolve upon you as one of its members.

As you may have already gathered from the questions which were propounded to you, and which you have answered so satisfactorily, and from the clauses of the oath which you have just taken, our main and fundamental object is the maintenance of the supremacy of the white race in this Republic. History and physiology teach us that we belong to a race which nature has endowed with an evident superiority over all other human races, and that the Maker, in thus elevating us above the common standard of human creation, has intended to give us, over inferior races, a dominion from which no human laws can permanently derogate.

It then becomes our solemn duty, as white men, to resist strenuously and persistently these attempts against our natural and constitutional rights, and to do everything in our power in order to maintain, in this Republic, the supremacy of the Caucasian race, and to restrain the black or African race to that condition of social and political inferiority for which God has destined it.

Brothers, I now consign you to the lieutenant commander of this council, who will instruct you as to the signs and other means of recognition of this association, and other details of its organization and order.

The lieutenant commander will now instruct the new brothers as to the sign, grip, cry, dialogue, rap, pass-word, &c., taking care to charge them particularly as to the circumstances and occasion of their use. He will also inform them of the mode of initiation and other details of order which they are required to know.

Here is every essential element of Tennessee Kukluxism. The oath-bound secrecy, and obedience, protection of each other, opposition to colored suffrage, and thereby to reconstruction and equal rights before the law, the essence of Democracy according to BLAIR. Witnesses testify that they were armed and completely organized throughout the State under a grand commander, and that they might be summoned to the field as an army by the call of one man. In St. Landry parish this was actually done, with what bloody effect we have seen. In New Orleans, where they were estimated at over fifteen thousand, they were called into action by taps of the fire-bells, indicating the place where they were wanted, and thus they did assemble and take part in the riots.

Members claim that the organization extends to other States, through the whole South, and even into the northern States, and that the national organization is under one supreme commander.

There can be no doubt but this is one of the forms of the system of secret societies, commonly known as Ku Klux Klan, all over the South; and no where were its operations, secret and open, more effective than in Louisiana. This official table shows its work, so far as known:

Final summary.

Reports of committee:	
Killed.....	784
Wounded by gun-shot.....	85
Maltreated.....	365
	1,234
Report of Brevet Major General Hatch, Assistant Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau:	
Killed.....	267
Wounded by gun-shot.....	50
Maltreated.....	142
	459
Appendix:	
Killed, wounded, and maltreated.....	164
Grand total.....	1,837

Those best informed say the half is not told, and that if the whole truth were known it would appear that there were committed in that State in the year 1868 upon Republicans, white and colored, not less than four thousand outrages. Yet no man has been punished by the State courts. Judges, grand juries, and petit juries were parties or in sympathy, or paralyzed by fear; and there is no relief for the injured. The dead tell no tales; the living dare not speak. Even while we were in New Orleans a colored man who had testified before a committee of the State Legislature was on account of his evidence beaten so that he died before we could examine him; and when his sons, who saw their father killed, were called before us they did not dare tell us what they saw.

The only punishment which has been inflicted upon the Louisiana Ku Klux was by the last Congress, when, on the report of the committee, we rejected the blood-stained returns from the riotous parishes and refused to admit members to this floor who had been sent here by the Ku Klux Klan; and in three cases, where the major parts of districts were peaceable, we sustained the election in the peaceable parishes and admitted the members chosen thereby. The wisdom of this course has been amply vindicated. It took from violence its motive and reward. It reassured the loyal people by showing them that they had some friends somewhere. Since then the State authorities have recovered control. There is now a strong militia organization, and gentlemen from Louisiana tell us they have peace and order; yet, knowing as I do the spirit and power of the rebel element in that State, I apprehend that when political excitement runs high again, if there be a prospect of Democratic success, scenes of violence may be re-enacted, and certainly a people twice visited

as the Union men of Louisiana have been should not be too confident of security.

TEXAS.

General Howard said in 1868:

"A fearful amount of lawlessness and ruffianism has prevailed in Texas during the past year. Armed bands styling themselves Ku Klux, &c., have practiced barbarous cruelties upon the freedmen. Murders by the desperadoes who have long disgraced this State are of common occurrence. The civil authorities have been overawed, and in many cases even the bureau and military forces have been powerless to prevent the commission of these crimes. From information on file in the office of the assistant commissioner it appears that in the month of March the number of freedmen murdered was 21; of white men, 15; the number of freedmen assaulted with the intent to kill, 11; white men, 7. In July the number of freedmen murdered was 32; white men, 7. It has been estimated by reliable authority that in August, 1868, there were probably five thousand indictments pending in the State for homicide in some of its various degrees, in most cases downright murder. Yet since the close of the war only in one solitary case (that of a freedman who was hung at Houston) has punishment to the full extent of the law been awarded.

"In consequence of this condition of affairs a kind of a quiet prevails among the freed people lacking but little in all the essentials of slavery. In the more remote districts, where bureau agents are fifty or one hundred miles apart, and stations of troops still further distant, freedmen do not dare or presume to act in opposition to the will of their late masters. They make no effort to exercise rights conferred upon them by the acts of Congress, and few even of Union men are brave enough, or rather foolhardy enough, to advise them in anything antagonistic to the sentiments of the people lately in rebellion."

Thus it appears that in two months there were seventy-five murders and eleven assaults with intent to kill. How many murders in the year may be imagined—five thousand indictments for manslaughter pending. This was under military supervision. The military arm could arrest criminals and protect witnesses, but the trial was generally left to civil court and jury, and the result was one man executed, and he a negro.

There is no statement of other outrages contemporary with the five thousand murders. In other States the number of collateral injuries, such as assault and battery, wounding, and scourging, would have been appalling; but the Texas Ku Klux do not play with their victims nor temper their judgments with mercy. Whom they attack they generally kill, and it may be double the number of murders would cover all other outrages, and surely fifteen thousand are enough even for Texas, where we do not expect order. The State is now under civil government, supplemented by a strong militia organization, and the most disorderly regions are under martial law. The danger is that during the next political excitement the lawless element may get the upper hand.

Now, sir, I have traced this organization—known, and feared wherever it is known, as the Ku Klux Klan—from Virginia to Texas,

from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Its existence in all the late rebel States and in the neutral State of Kentucky is proven by official reports, by witnesses, by the admissions of leading southern Democrats and newspapers, and finally by its own red record of crime. General N. B. Forrest gives its numbers in enormous figures, 550,000, over half a million. Its central and vital principle is opposition to reconstruction, the new constitutional amendments, and the laws made for their enforcement. Its rallying-cry is "A white man's government and the Constitution as it was." It is in full harmony with the reactionary Democracy. Its members were rebels and are Democrats, and it works for the Democratic party in order to recover the status lost by rebellion. Its means are intimidation, violence, and murder. It rules or ruins. The sum total of outrages, if fully set forth, would startle the world. I dare not undertake to sum them; but, that we may approach an opinion, let us within safe bounds of half the commonly received estimates add them up. Murders, woundings, scourgings, and other bodily injuries committed since the collapse of the rebellion to date: in Virginia, 500; Kentucky, 1,000; Tennessee, 1,500; North Carolina, 1,000; South Carolina, 1,000; Georgia, 500; Florida, 300; Alabama, 500; Mississippi, 500; Arkansas, 500; Louisiana, 3,000; Texas, 5,000; total, 15,300.

If you think this excessive, cut it down to ten thousand; that were enough to shame the Republic. Ten thousand crimes against the citizens of the United States and no punishment, no redress! Probably half these outrages were done in 1868, pending the presidential election under Andrew Johnson, who sympathized with the party they aided. Gentlemen may say that the body of this evidence relates to the past. I answer that much of it touches the present hour and shows this organization rampant in five States—Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Texas; while it is less active, though plainly felt, in three—Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi. In Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana it is quiescent. The "sacred serpent" does not hiss, but is he therefore dead? No; dormant. Follow him into his den, you will find him in all his original dimensions awaiting the return of the heated political season, when he may issue forth again to make himself heard, seen, and felt. Already he begins to turn over and wind around himself under the reviving warmth of an occasional Democratic victory.

In Virginia and Tennessee there is no necessity for action. The Democracy are in power, and Ku Klux do not kill Democrats. In Arkansas and Louisiana there is no present apparent hope; but who imagines that the Ku Klux Democracy of the South will surrender

those two States or any other southern State without a struggle or let their electoral votes go by default in 1872? Our presidential elections are quadrennial high tides of excitement. Then all elements, good and evil, are exerted to their utmost. In 1872 all the States will be back on the electoral roll. It will be a grand contest. Unless parties alter their present attitude the campaign will be fought upon the issue of the validity of the three new constitutional amendments and of the laws to enforce them; in a word, reconstruction to stand as it is or be undone; and what is that but the Ku Klux question? And will the Ku Klux be silent and still when the whole nation shall be ringing with Democratic assertion and Republican denial of their own dogma? Are they so fond of peace and tranquillity as to rest in quiet in their "dens" while the northern Democracy fight their battles against odds and are overcome?

No, sir; no sane man will expect it. If left unsuppressed till 1872 they will be fully organized in every southern State and ready for the fray; by intimidation, violence, and murder, the lash, the revolver, the rifle, and the torch, to carry every southern State for the Democratic ticket on a Ku Klux platform. Can any man contemplate the consequences of such a victory? Suppose the South carried by violence, as Georgia and Louisiana were in 1868, and New York by fraud, as she was in 1868, and that those with other electoral votes lawfully obtained decide the contest in favor of the Democracy, then the loyal people must submit to see the fruits of four years of war, with all its cost of blood and treasure, turn to Dead Sea apples in their hands; or if they attempt to resist the consummation of the foul and bloody conspiracy, they must encounter another civil war, in which their enemies will fight under the national authority and flag.

Mr. Speaker, the possibility of such an event imposes upon us the imperative duty of guarding against it. And why may it not occur? Had the votes of Georgia and Louisiana been material in 1868, we should then have been placed in the position described, with Seymour leading Tammany and Blair the Ku Klux, to seize upon power gained by fraud and violence. When wise men escape such perils they provide measures against a recurrence. Let us do so now in good season.

The President asks for legislation to enable him lawfully to suppress Ku Klux outrages. He has been slow in reaching the conclusion that extraordinary measures are requisite. So have we all.

Our last presidential election was carried under the magic words "Let us have peace." That result seemed for a time to have restored order. The annual message of 1869 said, "We are blessed with peace at home." But

in his annual message for 1870, the President said:

"In our midst comparative harmony has been restored. It is to be regretted, however, that a free exercise of the elective franchise has, by violence and intimidation, been denied to citizens in exceptional cases in several of the States lately in rebellion, and the verdict of the people has thereby been reversed."

"Violence and intimidation" "in several States," "the verdict of the people reversed." Sir, had we not been so injured to war's alarms such language would have astonished us.

Again he said:

"In conclusion I would sum up the policy of the Administration to be a thorough enforcement of every law; a faithful collection of every tax provided for; economy in the disbursement of the same; a prompt payment of every debt of the nation; a reduction of taxes as rapidly as the requirements of the country will admit; reductions of taxation and tariff, to be so arranged as to afford the greatest relief to the greatest number; honest and fair dealings with all other peoples, to the end that war, with all its blighting consequences, may be avoided, but without surrendering any right or obligation due to us; a reform in the treatment of Indians, and in the whole civil service of the country; and, finally, in securing a pure, untrammelled ballot, where every man entitled to cast a vote may do so, just once, at each election, without fear of molestation or proscription on account of his political faith, nativity, or color."

On March 7, 1871, Mr. HOOPER, of Massachusetts, reported:

"The President said he had no communication to make at present to Congress, but that he might have some communication to make in the course of a week, and the President expressed a desire that during this week no day should be fixed for a final adjournment of the two Houses."

March 23 the President sent us the following message:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

A condition of affairs now exists in some of the States of the Union rendering life and property insecure and the carrying of the mails and the collection of the revenue dangerous. The proof that such a condition of affairs exists in some localities is now before the Senate. That the power to correct these evils is beyond the control of State authorities I do not doubt; that the power of the Executive of the United States, acting within the limits of existing laws, is sufficient for present emergencies is not clear. Therefore, I urgently recommend such legislation as in the judgment of Congress shall effectually secure life, liberty, and property, and the enforcement of law in all parts of the United States. It may be expedient to provide that such law as shall be passed in pursuance of this recommendation shall expire at the end of the next session of Congress. There is no other subject upon which I would recommend legislation during the present session.

U. S. GRANT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 23, 1871.

It was natural for the President and for every Republican to be reluctant and unwilling to admit the deplorable condition of the South. It is the only blemish on our record, the only imperfection of our work, of Union, liberty, and equality. When we can proclaim peace throughout the land, history will pronounce upon the Republican party the grandest eulogy ever awarded to men. But we now see and

acknowledge the condition of affairs and are uniting on a remedy. Necessity closes our divisions and brings us into line.

We perceive that Republican quarrels are Democratic victories. We have intimations of what Democratic victories mean from the great southern leader who has been so long silent, Jefferson Davis. Seeing the flag of Democracy floating in triumph on the White mountains, the ex-president of the southern confederacy makes a "progress" through Alabama such as the sovereigns of England were used to make through their counties. At Mobile he said, "I dare not speak as I feel;" but at Selma he spoke more freely, and the Democratic organ, the Selma Times and Messenger, reports him as follows:

"He touched the hearts of all by the kind and affectionate manner in which he spoke of Alabama, the southern people, and the 'lost cause.' He said that he could not address them as fellow-citizens, as he was disfranchised by every count in the disfranchising act. Closing his remarks, he expressed the hope that he would yet live to see the sovereignty of the States vindicated."

And that paper adds:

"We express, in behalf of the people of Alabama, the hope that he may not only live to see that day, but that in that hour he may be found representing the people who love him so well."

History presents no scene like this. An arch-rebel, who has led a great and bloody revolt, and been conquered, magnanimously released, unpunished, restored to citizenship in the country he sought to destroy, permitted with impunity to stir up the people to fresh revolt. Milton imagines something like it where he pictures Satan haranguing the prostrate powers of hell to renewed rebellion against the laws of Heaven. We can almost hear our rebel chieftain exclaim:

"What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; th' unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield."

But even this comparison fails, for Satan was in hell, suffering the judgment of Heaven for his crimes, while the man has been readmitted to the Union he would have disrupted.

It may be said that if the southern people be animated by this spirit, and the Ku Klux Klan be so formidable as General Forrest says, and so hostile and bloody as the testimony shows, there is danger of another war. But, Mr. Speaker, threatening as the prospect seems, I do not apprehend a serious struggle. If the whole South were like South Carolina, or if all members of the Ku Klux Klan were desperate and violent men, there would be great peril. But the evidence shows that not one member in ten, perhaps not one in a hundred, commits violence. The masked and sheeted Ku Klux are executioners who vol-

unteer or are assigned to execute the decrees of the Klan. They are the idle, wild young men who abound at the South, a class bred by slavery and fostered in rebellion. They are supported by better men, whose ends they serve. But let their deeds and the combination from which they spring be placed under the ban of United States law, and the substantial men who now send out these Hotspurs will withdraw from the Klan and it will be left without supporting public sentiment.

If, then, the masked assassins keep up their work force must be applied, and little will suffice to suppress them. The trouble will be to catch them; for they do not fight. There is no instance on record where disguised Ku Klux have given fair fight. Every conflict having the semblance of battle has been made by members undisguised, in open arms. So they fought in Louisiana, but there they encountered colored men unarmed, or poorly armed at best. So they fought recently in South Carolina against the colored State militia, but they have never faced a force of white men nor have they ever met national troops. The masked Ku Klux has thus far shown himself a coward. The evidence discloses many examples.

A faithful sheriff with a small posse fired upon five times their number of armed, disguised Ku Klux, wounded and unhorsed several and put them to flight at a single volley.

A school-master with half a dozen brave freedmen resisted fifty masks and drove them away.

A single white man in Tennessee defended his house against them.

A merchant in Kentucky defended his store. The cabin of an old negro was surrounded at night and they were entering the window, when the brave man fired his shot gun, exclaiming "'Fore God, somebody must die," and brought down the constable, when the sheriff led the retreat.

Another negro, whose arms had been taken, met them with a long iron shovel and mauled their masks till they fled.

Seldom do they attack a man until they have disarmed him. They do not mean to risk their own lives when they take those of others. They cannot afford to be killed, wounded, or captured. Exposure would follow, trial, conviction, punishment; secrecy and mystery would be gone, and the whole conspiracy exploded. But if we are too sanguine—if they mean war—let us take it in time, and not wait until they are better armed and prepared. If it must come; if, having conquered a rebellion waged for the extension of slavery, we have now to meet another waged for the privilege of scourging and killing American citizens, let it come, and let us make the war quick, sharp, and decisive, so that it may be the last.

THE REMEDY.

What is the remedy? Gentlemen on the other side say, "There is no need of legislation. Let the southern people alone; they are only throwing off carpet-bag government." We know they are throwing off loyal Republican government; and that is what is meant by carpet bag government. "Carpet-bagger," "scalawag," and "negro!" These are their names for patriots. And loyal men, however good and honest, weigh not a feather in their balance against rebels. The better the loyal man is, the more they hate him for his influence. They pretend to be opposing corruption. It is a false pretense. Look at Tammany. Let them throw off carpet-bag government and you will have rebel government, and then you may have peace, provided you permit them to nullify the laws and Constitution and reduce the freedmen to involuntary servitude.

Gentlemen from Tennessee on the other side say they have peace there. Ay, the peace of slavery, the peace of the gravel. They have conquered and slain until there is none to oppose them, and now they stand over the dead and say it is peace. There is always peace over the grave of the just man. It was testified by a Louisiana Democrat after the riot, that election day was quiet as a funeral. Certainly! It was a funeral day. The loyal people were burying their dead while the rebels were carrying the election. No, gentlemen; we mean to use the power of this Republic to stop this wholesale murder. We have been patient. We have looked anxiously for peace. We have joyfully hailed every sign of tranquillity. We have waited six years, wishing, praying, hoping, and now we see only increasing violence. We cannot shut our eyes to the facts; you cannot deny them. Here are proofs enough, sworn testimony enough to convict the whole Ku Klux Klan and condemn the Democratic party as an accomplice in its guilt in any court of justice in this world or in the next. Yet we do not propose punishment for the past; we only ask peace in the future. And to secure peace we must extend the jurisdiction of the national courts and the power of the national Executive.

THE CONSTITUTION.

Gentlemen on the other side, from the North and the South, say we cannot suppress the Ku Klux Klan under the Constitution; and rather than infringe that instrument, as they understand it, they will allow the Ku Klux Klan to run on forever. Better anything, in their opinion, than the least infraction of State rights. But gentlemen forget that the Constitution is not now what it was before the southern Democracy undertook to destroy the Union for which the Constitution was made. The old, vexed question whether this was really a

national Union or merely a disjointed confederation, dependent on the States and helpless without them, has been settled forever, determined by the court of last resort—an appeal to arms—and the people have ratified the judgment and expressed it in constitutional amendments. The secession leaders had persuaded themselves that on the withdrawal of their States the "confederation" would tumble to pieces for want of supporting pillars. But they only exhibited the weakness and fallacy of their own theory of State sovereignty. At first the Union seemed to tremble in the storm, but the people upheld it on their shoulders while they fought southern rebels with bayonets and northern Democrats with ballots. When the old Constitution and made it void, the fathers intended it should be. We adopted three cardinal amendments—the treaty of nationality. The thirteenth confers upon every inhabitant of the Republic liberty, that gift of God which had been taken away by man; the fourteenth gives equality under the law, with the right to the equal protection of the law; the fifteenth guarantees impartial suffrage, and each gives to Congress the power to enforce it.

It would be well for returning prodigals to look at these amendments—improvements of their fathers' house. It would be well for gentlemen who have opposed their adoption and denounced them as invalid to study the meaning of these grand provisions of our fundamental law. It would be well for all of us to endeavor to comprehend their profound meaning. It will hereafter be more difficult to limit the powers of Congress than to vindicate its authority. Few of us can realize the vast reach and extent of the newly granted powers. Even the men who wrote and adopted and ratified the amendments can hardly see their grandeur. We stand too near the mountains. It may be said of the framers of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth articles of amendment as was said of our forefathers who founded the Republic which we have perfected, "They builded better than they knew."

I shall not follow the long lines of "expounders" who have ventured into this wide field of unexplored powers, many of whom are still "in wandering mazes lost." It is sufficient for me that I find in these amendments ample authority for the proposed legislation. I would be willing to submit the question on the reading of the text. The facts before us establish a case coming within each and all of these amendments. The Ku Klux Klan endanger liberty, equal rights, and impartial suffrage. Let us read the text:

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist

within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race or color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

They all apply; but if the fourteenth stood alone it would sustain us. Even a part were sufficient:

Nor [shall any State] deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Webster defines "deny" to mean "to refuse to grant;" "to withhold;" "not to grant;" "as, to deny bread to the hungry;" and he illustrates—

"Who finds not Providence all good and wise,
Alike in what He gives and what denies?"

Denial may, therefore, be either active or passive. It is more frequently passive than active. That of Providence is nearly always passive; withholding, not giving, not granting, is denying. And the reason is not material. If the State cannot grant protection, there is the same reason for action by the United States as if the State could but would not. Nay, there is more; for if the fault were in the will of the State, that will might be changed

by persuasion or relenting, while if the power be wanting help must come from without.

Gentlemen contend that this provision will operate only where a State fails to pass equal laws and excludes a class of citizens from protection; but the language is, "equal protection of the laws." The words "the laws" imply existing laws; and the benefit secured is the "protection" of the laws, and this requires their execution. Unexecuted laws are no "protection." And this brings us to the very case: the States have laws providing for equal protection, but they do not, because either they will not or cannot, enforce them equally; and hence a class of citizens have not "the protection of the laws." Union men, white and black, are "denied" the protection of the laws as completely as if the laws excepted from their operation "all cases of outrage by Ku Klux upon Republicans, white or colored."

But, Mr. Speaker, this is verbal. As I read these amendments they confer and guaranty substantial rights, privileges, and immunities, and empower Congress to secure them to the people by appropriate legislation; and I favor the exercise of this power whenever and where ever it is needed.

I share not in the apprehensions of gentlemen who stand amazed at the power of the national Government under these amendments. Ever since they were adopted I have rejoiced in my heart and given glory and praise and thanksgiving to God that the American Republic is a nation at last. The great dome of the Union rises and expands to heaven, extending over and protecting all the States, but not dependent on them for existence or support.

Local authorities may fail in their duty, or be paralyzed or overthrown by internal convulsions, but the national Government will remain to secure the people in their rights and protect them in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property in peace.